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Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Isfandiyār

AN

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION

OF THE

HISTORY OF TABARISTÁN

COMPILED ABOUT A. H. 613 (A. D. 1216)

BY

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN B. ISFANDIYÁR,

BASED ON THE INDIA OFFICE MS.

COMPARED WITH TWO MSS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

BY

EDWARD G. BROWNE, M. A., M. B.,

SIR THOMAS ADAMS' PROFESSOR OF ARABIC AND FELLOW OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE: FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY.

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ELIAS JOHN WILKINSON GIBB,

and to promote those researches into the History, Literature, Philosophy and Religion of the Turks, Persians and Arabs to which, from his Youth upwards, until his premature and deeply lamented Death in his forty-fifth year on December 5, 1901, his life was devoted.

تِلْكَ آثَارُنَا تَدُلُّ عَلَيْنَا ۔ فَانْظُرُوا بَعْدَنَا إِلَى الْآثَارِ ،

"The worker pays his debt to Death;
His work lives on, nay, quickeneth."

The following memorial verse is contributed by ʿAbdu'l-Ḥaqq Ḥámid Bey of the Imperial Ottoman Embassy in London, one of the Founders of the New School of Turkish Literature, and for many years an intimate friend of the deceased.

جمله یارانی وفاسیله ایدرکن تطییب
کندی عمرنده وفا گورمدی اول ذاتِ ادیب
گنج ایکن اولمش ایدی اوجِ کماله واصل
نه اولوردی یاشامش اولسه ایدی مستر گیب

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

The aim of this book is a comparatively humble one, and even of this aim, now that it is completed, I fear that it may have fallen short. It was originally undertaken, not because I had made or intended to make any special study of Ṭabaristán, but in the search for fresh materials for the second volume of the *Literary History of Persia* on which I am still engaged. We are still far from having arrived at a point where, supplied with ample materials, and certain that no important ascertainable fact has eluded our knowledge, we can venture to dogmatise or generalise on the intellectual life and spiritual development of the Persians. Often the student of Persian must wait for months ere he can consult even the most important and indispensable histories, such as the *Jámi'u 't-Tawáríkh* of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, or the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahángushá́y* of 'Aṭá Malik-i-Juwayní; and, while thus waiting, he will take such opportunities as may happen to present themselves of acquainting himself with the contents of those little-read local and special histories of which some are to be found in every large collection of Muhammadan manuscripts, and which constantly supply details, wanting in the larger general histories, of considerable value for illustrative purposes.

Much has been done, especially by the Russians, towards supplying full materials for a history of the Caspian provinces of Persia, Gílán and Mázandarán. Between the years 1850 and 1858 Dorn published a whole series of works on this subject: first his *Geschichte Tabaristan's und der Serbedare*

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nach Chondemir; then four volumes of texts, of which the first was Sayyid Dhahíru'd-Dín al-Marᶜashí's *History of Tabaristán, Rúyán and Mázandarán*, composed about A.D. 1476; the second, ᶜAlí b. Shamsu'd-Dín's *History of Gilán*, known as the *Ta'ríkh-i-Kháni*, which is a continuation of the last-mentioned work to A.D. 1514; then Ibnu'l-Fattáḥ al-Fúmaní's *History of Gilán* (from A.D. 1517—1628); and lastly a volume of extracts from the writings of twenty-two Arabic and Persian authors who have incidentally treated of matters connected with these provinces. Another most valuable work which I have constantly consulted during the preparation of this volume is Melgunof's *Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres, oder die Nordprovinzen Persiens* (Leipzig, 1868). Even for the dialect of Mázandarán more has probably been done than for any other local idiom of Persia, notably by the two Russian scholars mentioned above.

Separated from the rest of Persia by the lofty barrier of the Elburz Mountains, culminating in the great cone of Damáwand (Dunbáwand), the Caspian provinces have always possessed, to a certain extent, a history and character apart. Long after the Sásánian dynasty had fallen and the rést of Persia had been subdued by the Arabs, the Ispahbads continued to strike their Pahlawí coinage and maintain the religion of Zoroaster in the mountains and forests of Ṭabaristán; and their struggles against the Arabs were only ended about A.D. 838 by the capture and cruel execution of the gallant Mázyár, the son of Qárin, the son of Wandá-Hurmuz. Twenty-five years later was established the Shíᶜite rule of the Zaydí Sayyids, which lasted till A.D. 928; and these were followed by the noble house of Ziyár, of whom Shamsu'l-Maᶜálí Qábús was especially conspicuous for his literary eminence. Even after the disastrous Mongol invasion, representatives of the ancient aristocracy of Ṭabaristán continued to wield a more or less considerable power.

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Of this strange and interesting country the clearest and most ineffaceable recollection must remain in the mind of every traveller who has visited it. I merely traversed it in about a week on my homeward journey from Persia in the autumn of 1888, yet of no part of that journey do I preserve a more vivid impression; the first entry, from the great stony plain of ʿIráq-i-ʿAjamí into the lower hills at Ágh, with its rippling streams and almost English hedge-rows; the long winding climb to the eastern shoulder of the mighty Damáwand; the deep cañons of the Lár; the Alpine beauties of René; the gradual descent, through rock-walled valleys, into virgin forests, bright with the red blossoms of the wild pomegranate, and carpeted with ferns and mosses; the sluggish streams and stagnant pools of the coast-ward fenlands; ancient Ámul, with its long slender bridge; Bárfurúsh and the swampy rice-fields of Shaykh Ṭabarsí, memorable in the history of the Bábí religion; and the sandy downs towards the Caspian Sea.

Of this land the author of this book, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Isfandiyár — generally known, for the sake of brevity, as Ibn Isfandiyár —, is the earliest systematic historian whose work has come down to us. Of his life we know practically nothing save what he himself tells us at the beginning of his work (pp. 3—4 *infra*), while the few written sources from which, as he informs us, he derived his material — notably the *Báwand-náma* and the *ʿUqúd* of Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Yazdádí — appear also to be lost. Dorn (*Sehir-eddin's Geschichte von Tabaristan u. s. w.*, p. 6) gives A.D. 1216 as the date at which he composed his history, that is to say, 260 years before Dhahíru'd-Dín, who, as Dorn points out, made such free use of his materials. Were this use so free (which it is not) as to amount to complete plagiarism (a thing by no means unknown in Persian literature), it might render the publication of Ibn Isfandiyár's

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book in the original a work of supererogation; but even then, I venture to think, an abridged English translation like the present might have its uses. If it does nothing else, it may save other students of Persian the trouble of reading the original, or the disappointment of seeking from the book more than it contains.

The best translation, however, cannot take the place of a good text, and the publication of a complete and carefully collated text can alone be regarded as a final and definitive piece of work; since even if the translator could be certain that he had in every case fully apprehended the author's meaning, this assurance could not be shared by others to whom the original was inaccessible. This objection applies with still greater force to an abridged or condensed translation like the present, since the process of condensation is sure to be unevenly applied, according to the personal bias and proclivities of the translator. To me, for instance, all that throws fresh light on the literary history or intimate life of Persia is of extreme value; while the wars of rival princes and governors, when arising, so far as can be judged, from mere personal ambition, and not from conflicting ideals of nationality or religion, are comparatively unimportant, because unconnected with any essential antithesis. All that concerns Mázyár, for example, is to me of supreme interest, because he stands for the old Persian national and religious ideal; while the internecine struggles which mark the decline of the Seljúq power, and in which I can discern no underlying principle, appear merely as wearisome enumerations of irrelevant details. Yet to another, who regarded Persian history from a different point of view, the military or the political, for instance, the very matters over which I have passed so lightly might seem all-important.

I need say little more in this Preface. Profiting by the liberality of the India Office Library, which stands in such

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noble contrast to the retrograde and obscurantist policy of several of the most important libraries in this country, I have been able to read through a comparatively rare work which cannot be ignored by the student of Persian history. As I read, I endeavoured to abstract from it, primarily for my own use, all that seemed to me of interest or importance. This abstract I had at first no intention of publishing; but the foundation by the liberality of the late Mrs Jane Gibb of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial", intended not only to perpetuate the memory of her son's rare scholarship and single-hearted devotion to learning, but to carry on such work as he loved and promote such aims as he so steadily pursued, created, almost for the first time in this country, facilities for the publication of works dealing with the history of Western and Central Asia actually in excess, for the time being, of the supply of such works. Under these circumstances, with the approval of the other Trustees of the Memorial, I decided to revise for the Press this abstract originally prepared only for my own personal use. In the work of revision I have received the most generous and invaluable help from Mr A. G. Ellis of the British Museum, whose knowledge of Muhammadan literature and bibliography surpasses, so far as I can judge, that of any other living European scholar. Notwithstanding his onerous duties and scanty leisure, he has read almost every sheet of the book before it was printed off; and to him I am indebted not only for the numerous foot-notes followed by his initials, and the observations on pp. 271—280, but also for the correction of many errors which would otherwise have marred these pages. I desire to avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my gratitude for this and numerous other obligations under which he has laid me.

With the Index (the most important part of such a book as this) I have taken considerable pains; and with its help

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it will, I think be easy for any Persian scholar to find any passage which he may wish to consult, not only in the India Office Codex which forms the basis of my work, but in any other manuscript which he may have at his disposal. Certain names occur so often that, without a more profound knowledge of the history of Ṭabaristán than I possess, it is often difficult to determine questions of identity. Hence, in all doubtful cases, I have placed in brackets after the name a Roman number indicating the century of the Christian era in which the person referred to appears to have flourished.

EDWARD G. BROWNE,
May 10, 1905.

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Bibliography. Sir W. Ouseley's *Travels* (London 1821), vol. ii, p. 214; vol. iii, pp. 304, 308, 554 *etc.*; Idem, *Catalogue of several hundred manuscript works* etc. (London 1821), N°. 283, p. 450; Dorn's *Schir-eddin's Geschichte von Tabaristan, Rujan und Masanderan* (St. Petersburg, 1850), pp. 3—6; Spiegel, in the *Z. D. M. G.* for 1850 (vol. iv), pp. 62—71; Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 202—204; Ethé's *Bodleian Persian Catalogue*, pp. 160—161; Ethé's *India Office Persian Catalogue*, pp. 222—223.

Manuscripts. **N°. 1134** of the India Office (= N°. 568 in Ethé's *Catalogue*), dated A. H. 1032 (= **A**). **Add. 7633** of the British Museum, dated A. H. 1067 (= **B**), and **Or. 2778**, dated A. H. 1273 (= C). **N°. 307** (= Ouseley 214) of the Bodleian, dated A. H. 1068 (= D). Also a MS. in the Library of the St. Petersburg University; and a transcript of the same, collated by Dorn with the London MSS., in the Asiatic Museum of St. Petersburg. Another MS., dated A. H. 1295, which belonged to the late M. Ch. Schefer, is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and bears the class-mark *Suppl. Pers.* 1436.

A portion of the text (corresponding with f. 6*b*, l. 4—f. 20*b*, l. 5 of **A**), containing the letter of Ardashír Bábakán's minister Tansar to Jasnasf, king of Ṭabaristán, cited by the author on the authority of the celebrated ᶜAbdu'lláh ibnu'l-Muqaffaᶜ, was published with a French translation in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1894 (Series ix, Vol. 3, pp. 185—250 and 502—555) by the late M. James Darmesteter, who found the India Office MS. greatly superior in point of correctness to the British Museum Codex of which he made use.

The only other portion of the text (corresponding with f. 155*a*, l. 17—f. 157*b*, l. 12) which, so far as I know, has been published and translated is the account of Firdawsí cited from the *Chahár Maqála* of Niḏhámí-i-ᶜArúḍí of Samarqand, which Dr. Ethé transcribed for Professor Nöldeke's use, and afterwards published in the *Z. D. M. G.* for 1894, vol. xlviii, pp. 89—94.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

After the customary doxology, the author, Muḥammed b. al-Ḥasan b. Isfandiyár, states that, on returning from Baghdad to ʿIráq in the year A. H. 606 (= A. D. 1209—1210), he was overwhelmed with grief at the news of the murder of Rustam b. Ardashír b. Ḥasan b. Rustam, the ruler of Ṭabaristán, on the 21st of Shawwál in that year (April 1, A. D. 1210), on which he exclaims:

سَلَامٌ عَلَى قَوْمٍ مَضَوا لِسَبِيلِهِم فَلَمْ يَبْقَ إِلَّا ذِكْرُهُمْ وَحَدِيثُهُمْ
لَقَدْ جَمَعَتْهُمْ سَكْرَةُ ٱلْمَوْتِ فَٱسْتَوَى قَدِيمُهُمْ فِي شَأْنِهِمْ وَحَدِيثُهُمْ

For two months (f. 3*a*) he remained in Ray, weighed down with sorrow, and finding his only consolation in the perusal of books. One day he found in the library of the College founded by the Sháhinsháh Rustam b. Shahriyár a few quires on the history of Gáwbára, and thereupon remembered that the late king Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Ardashír had repeatedly enquired of him whether he had ever come across any mention of a king of Ṭabaristán called Gáwbára in Arabic or Persian books (f. 3*b*), to which he was obliged to reply that he had not, and that he knew of no history of Ṭabaristán save the *Báwand-náma*, a work filled with fables and popular legends compiled for the king Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Shahriyár b. Qárin. On examining these quires, he found them to contain the *ʿUqúdu siḥr wa qalá'idu durar* of Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Yazdádí, a work wherein the author sought rather to display his mastery over the Arabic language than to impart information to the reader. This he translated into

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Persian, adding to it some account of king Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Ardashír and his illustrious ancestors, and, encouraged by some of his literary friends, he was preparing to make a fair copy of his rough draft when he received a letter from his father warning him of his approaching end. Thereupon he at once started (f. 4*b*) with a single servant for his home, without saying good bye to any one, and by the morning of the following day reached the castle of Ustúnáwand [1], where he was set upon and robbed by brigands. He ultimately, however, reached his father, and remained for a while at Ámul in Mázandarán, whence, after a short time, he journeyed to Khwárazm (f. 5*a*), at that time a most flourishing and populous city, where he remained for five years. One day he found in a bookseller's shop there a volume containing ten separate treatises, one of which was a translation from Hindí into Arabic (از هندوی بتازی) made for a native of Sind named ʿAlá b. Saʿíd by a certain Dáʾúd of Yazd in the year A. H. 197 (= A. D. 812—813), while another was a translation from Pahlawí into Arabic, made by the celebrated ʿAbduʾlláh ibnuʾl-Muqaffaʿ († circ. A. D. 760), of the answer returned to Jasnafsháh, Prince of Ṭabaristán, by Tansar of Párs, the chief *herbad* (هربد هرابذ) of Ardashír Bábakán, the founder of the Sásánian dynasty. These also the author used for the compilation of his work, which he constructed on the following plan (f. 5*b*):

Section I. On the first foundation of the kingdom of Ṭabaristán.

Ch. I. Translation of the above-mentioned tract of ibnuʾl-Muqaffaʿ.

Ch. II. First settlement of Ṭabaristán and its cities.

Ch. III. Virtues and marvels of Ṭabaristán.

Ch. IV. Its princes, nobles, doctors, hermits, writers,

[1] See M. Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 33.

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physicians, astronomers, philosophers, poets and notable men.

Section II. History of the rise and continuance of the dynasties of Washmgír and Buwayh in Ṭabaristán.

Section III. How Ṭabaristán passed from Núshírwán b. Minúchihr b. Qábús, the last prince of the House of Washmgír, to the kings of the Houses of Ghazna and Seljúq.

Section IV. From the beginning of the second ascendancy of the House of Báwand to their decline and fall.

Section I, ch. I.

This section opens with a short biography (ff. 5*b*—6*b*) of Ibnu'l-Muqaffaᶜ. His proper name, says the author, was ᶜAbdu'lláh, and his father Dádawayh (Dádú'ê) was a Magian by religion, and one of the fiscal agents of the Arab government in Fárs. Being accused of embezzlement, he was tortured so that his skin was shrivelled and contracted (*taqaffaᶜat*), for which reason he received the *sobriquet* of *al-Muqaffaᶜ*, "the Shrivelled". His son ᶜAbdu'lláh, better known as Ibnu'l-Muqaffaᶜ, was converted to Islám by ᶜAlí b. ᶜIsá (f. 6*a*), the primary cause of his conversion being the impression produced on him by the seventh and following verses of Súra LXXVIII of the Qur'án, which he heard a child reciting aloud. He was on terms of intimate friendship with Khalíl b. Aḥmad al-Furhúdí [1]. A certain man of learning was asked his opinion concerning them. He replied, "Khalíl's understanding exceeds his learning, while Ibnu'l-Muqaffaᶜ's learning exceeds his understanding". One day Ibnu'l-Muqaffaᶜ, while passing by a fire-temple, recited this verse:

يا بَيْتَ عَاتِكَةَ ٱلَّتِي أَتَغَزَّلُ خَذَرَ ٱلْعِدَى وَبِهِ ٱلْفُؤَادُ مُوَكَّلُ

[1] See de Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikán, Vol. I, p. 493—498, especially the last paragraph on p. 495.

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When this was reported to the Caliph he said, "He is not yet a good Muslim," and ordered him to be cast alive into an oven. It is related by al-Jáḥiḏh [1] in his *Kitábu ʾl-Bayán waʾt-Tabyín* that when Ibnuʾl-Muqaffaʿ was handed over to the tormentor (صاحب مستخرج), he said to him, "Thou hast money and wealth; if thou wilt pay into the Exchequer the sum demanded from me, I will return you double or treble the amount, and will never divulge the matter, for thou knowest me faithful in the guarding of secrets." The tormentor, moved by coveteousness, paid the money and saved him from death and torture. It is also related [apparently by al-Jáḥiḏh] that a certain Háshim, gaoler to Yùsuf ʿUmar [ath-Thaqafí], used to keep a register of all the prisoners who had died in prison, and submit it to Yúsuf. ʿAbduʾlláh b. Abí Burda [b.] Abí Músá al-Ashʿarí, being in prison, offered this man a thousand *dirhams* to include his name in this list (f. 6*b*), and so effect his release. This was done, but the Amír, on receiving the report, said, "Bring his corpse before me." So the gaoler, being afraid, went back to the prison and smothered him with a cushion, so that his device cost him both his money and his life [2].

[*Here follows the translation of Ibnuʾl-Muqaffaʿ's version of Tansar's letter to Jasnasf, the king of Ṭabaristán. As this portion of the work has been published and translated, with excellent notes and comments, by the late Professor James Darmesteter* (Journal Asiatique for 1894, series IX, vol. iii, pp. 185—250 and 502—555), *it is omitted in this abstract. That this document rests on an authentic basis seems to be beyond doubt. See Darmesteter, loc. cit., pp. 185—192.*]

[1] Abú ʿUthmán ʿAmr b. Baḥr al-Jáḥiḏh of Baṣra was a prolific and learned writer, and died in A. H. 255 = A. D. 869. For a list of his works, see Carl Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, Vol. I, pp. 152—153. For MSS. of the *Kitábu ʾl-Bayán waʾt-Tabyín* preserved in the Constantinople librairies, see the *J. R. A. S.* for Jan. 1901, p. 172. It was printed in Cairo in A. H. 1313.

[2] [Cf. Ibn Khallikán, de Slane's translation, Vol. IV, pp. 441—442. A. G. E.]

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(F. 20*b*). The kingdom of Ṭabaristán remained in the hands of Jasnasf's descendants until the time of Pírúz († A. D. 484), but when the Turks invaded Khurásán and the confines of Ṭabaristán in the reign of his son Qubád (Kawádh, A. D. 488—531), it was decided in Council that Kayús (كيوس) [1], the King's eldest son, should be appointed ruler of that province. So matters remained till the glorious reign of Núshírwán, concerning whom Jábir b. ʿAbdi'lláh al-Anṣárí questioned the Prophet of God, saying, "How hath God dealt with Kisrá and Caesar?" The Prophet answered, "I asked my brother Gabriel this same question, and he said, 'I was desirous to ask God concerning this matter, when behold, a voice came from God's Throne, saying, "I would not torment in hell-fire kings who made my lands flourishing and my servants prosperous."'" The Umayyad Caliphs (f. 21*a*), on the other hand, though they professed Islám, are universally condemned for their tyranny and injustice.

One of the early Persian converts to Islám, in answer to the enquiries of the Prophet's companions as to which was the greatest and best of their kings, named Ardashír Bábakán, in proof of whose wisdom and clemency he related the following anecdote. Once, in a year of drought, the people petitioned him for help. Thereupon he issued this proclamation: "When rain is scarce, the rain-clouds of the King are generous; therefore distribute amongst them what they have lost." Núshírwán (A. D. 531—578) imitated him in maintaining good practices and suppressing evil innovations, and was especially opposed to the promotion of persons of mean origin to positions of trust, as is shewn by the following anecdote [2].

[1] See Nöldeke's *Gesch. d. Sasaniden*, pp. 147, n. 1, and 436*a*.

[2] Cf. p. 608 of Zotenberg's ed. and transl. of ath-Thaʿálibí's *Histoire des Rois des Perses* (Paris, 1900). Cf. also Darmesteter in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1894 (Series IX, Vol. iii), p. 519. An Arabic version of the story is given in Vol. ii of the *Majáni'l-Adab*, pp. 208—209.

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Anecdote.

King Núshírwán, being once in need of money for a campaign, instructed his minister to raise the sum required by a loan from the merchants and capitalists. The minister accordingly consulted one of the chief merchants, who at once offered himself to pay the money into the Royal Treasury, asking in return that his only son, a man of remarkable intelligence, in whose education he had for thirty years spared no pains, might be admitted to the government service (f. 22*a*), and given a suitable rank and title. When this proposal was submitted to the king, he replied, "When the children of the base-born are educated, they seek high offices, obtaining which they seek to abase the noble and the well-born, and to humble the great and mighty; but I will protect the honour of the noble from being shared by base and evil men." The merchant, on hearing this answer, was deeply disappointed, but entreated the minister at least to accept the money, and to honour him by being his guest at a banquet. To this the minister consented, and on the morrow was entertained at an epoch-making banquet (که تا امروز تاریخ ماند). When evening approached (وانّما اللیل نهار الادیب), wine was brought in, and they sat down to drink. A lamp-stand was set down before the minister, and, at a sign from the merchant, a trained cat ran in, lifted up this lamp-stand in its two paws, and placed it on its head, where it held it. The minister at once perceived that the merchant's object in this exhibition was to say by implication, "If I can so train and educate a cat, which has no rational soul (f. 22*b*), how can it be supposed that I should fail in the case of my own son, who is endowed with so many natural talents?" Thereupon the minister secretly ordered one of his companions to go and fetch a mouse and shew it to the cat. As soon as the cat saw it, it dropped the lamp

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and rushed towards the mouse; the lamp-oil was upset, some of it on the clothes and hair of the guests. The merchant, overcome with shame, would have retired to his private appartments, but the minister summoned him and said, "I have no doubt as to your son's capacity or training, but at the first promotion which he gets, he will make such disturbance as did this cat at the sight of the mouse." It has been said:

لَوْلَا ٱلْعُقُولُ لَكَانَ أَدْنَى ضَيْغَمٍ أَدْنَى إِلَى شَرَفٍ مِنَ ٱلْإِنْسَانِ

and again:

ٱلْكَلْبُ كَلْبٌ وَإِنْ كَانَتْ قِلَادَتُهُ صُفْرَ ٱلدَّنَانِيرِ أَوْ حُمْرَ ٱلْيَوَاقِيتِ

Though Sámirí's Calf (f. 23*a*) was of gold, it was only a calf.

إِنَّ ٱلْحِمَارَ وَلَوْ يُحَوَّلُ فِضَّةً أَوْ صِيغَ مِنْ ذَهَبٍ لَكَانَ حِمَارًا

Here follows a further dissertation on the impossibility of "making a silk purse out of a sow's ear", concluding with the verse:

از کوشش واز دویدن وخدمت کس
افزون نشود بذرّهٔ قسمت کس

Anecdote.

It is related that one day ᶜAbdu'l-Malik b. Qurayb al-Aṣmaᶜí, seeing the poet al-ᶜAttábí in the presence of Faḍl b. Rabíᶜ, reproached him for wearing such shabby clothes; whereupon the other retorted that a delight in fine apparel was only for women, and that a man was exalted by greatness of heart and high resolve, a silent tongue and an unselfish spirit (f. 23*b*).

فَكَمْ مِنْ سُيُوفٍ جَفْنُهُنَّ مُمَزَّقٌ وَكَمْ مِنْ ثِيَابٍ تَحْتَهُنَّ تُيُوسُ

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Man is not ennobled by wealth:

مال اگر مایلِ خران نشدی حلقهٔ قَرْجِ استران نشدی

Here follow short and rather irrelevant anecdotes of sundry Ṣúfí saints, *viz.* Ḥátim "the deaf" (*al-Aṣamm*), Báyazíd of Bisṭám and Abú Saʿíd Khwár (f. 24*a*), followed by reflections on Divine Providence and human effort, and the depravity and rebelliousness natural to man when his affairs prosper.

بسرما وگرما چنان نا شکیبی که از خانه ناآئی همی تا ببرزن

زگرما بسوزی زسرما بمیری مگس گشتی ای روسپی خواهر وزن

ʿÁmir b. ʿAbd Qays used to say (f. 24*b*) that though all wordly wealth should depart from him he would be fearful, because of three verses in the Qurʾán (xi, 8; xxxv, 2; and x, 107). More traditions on the Divine Providence follow; *e. g.*:

ٱلرِّزْقُ يَطْلُبُ ٱلْعَبْدَ كَمَا يَطْلُبُهُ أَجَلُهُ

إِنِّي لَأَعْلَمُ وَٱلْأَقْدَارُ جَارِيَةٌ أَنَّ ٱلَّذِي هُوَ رِزْقِي سَوْفَ يَأْتِينِي

Here follow anecdotes of Sufyán-i-Thawrí and Málik Dínár, two famous Ṣúfí saints (f. 25*a*), and of Abú ʿAbdiʾr-Raḥmán Ziyád b. Anʿam al-Ifríqí. The latter was in earlier life a fellow-student of Abú Jaʿfar al-Manṣúr, afterwards second Caliph of the House of ʿAbbás. One day Manṣúr invited him to a meal at his lodging. The meal was of the simplest: there was no meat, no sweets, not even dates. Manṣúr, on learning from his maid-servant that even dates were lacking, sighed and recited Qurʾán vii, 126. Long afterwards, when he had become Caliph, Ziyád again stood before him. "O Abú ʿAbdiʾr-Raḥmán!" said the Caliph, "I have heard that thou hast advantaged the Umayyads." "Yes," replied Ziyád, "they reaped advantage from me." "And how was their rule?" enquired the Caliph, "and what thinkest thou of mine?" "Of their rule," replied Ziyád, "I saw this, that thou didst take me to thy house and give me to eat with

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out meat, and recite the verse, '*It may be that your Lord will destroy your foe, and will make you succeed him in the earth.*' God hath destroyed thine enemy and made thee Caliph (f. 26*b*): see what thou wilt do, and be not of those referred to in the verse (Qur'án xcvi, 6) '*Verily man waxeth insolent, because he seeth himself abound in riches.*' Know that the Devil hath no more potent weapon than tempting man to sin to-day and to repent to-morrow."

Anecdote.

It is related on the authority of Abú Ḥamza ath-Thumálí[1] that the [fourth] Imám ᶜAlí b. al-Ḥusayn *Zaynu'l-ᶜÁbidín* said to him: "One day I came forth from al-Madína, and while I stood in thought, leaning against this wall, a man clad in two white garments, one over the other, accosted me, saying, 'O ᶜAlí son of al-Ḥusayn! I see thee sorrowful: if it be on account of this world's provision, God is guarantee therefor.' 'No,' I replied, 'my sorrow is not for this.' 'Then,' said he, 'dost thou grieve for the future life? For that is God's promise, which He is able to fulfil.' 'No,' I replied; 'it is not for this, for I know that what thou sayest is true.' 'Then,' said he, 'since thou grievest neither for this world nor the next, for what dost thou grieve?' 'I grieve,' said I, 'for the mischief wrought by fools, and the contempt I suffer at their hands.' Than the man laughed in my face and said, 'O ᶜAlí son of al-Ḥusayn! Didst thou ever see one who trusted in God and was disappointed?' 'No,' I replied. 'Didst thou ever,' he replied, 'see anyone who sought anything from God which He did not vouchsafe to him?' 'No,' I replied. And straightway the man vanished from my eyes."

[1] [i. e. Thábit b. Abí Ṣafiyya Dínár (d. A. H. 150). Cf. Najáshí (ed. Bombay, A. H. 1317), p. 83; Ṭúsí's *Fihrist*, p. 71; Astarábádí's *Manhaju'l-maqál* (Persian ed. of A. H. 1307), p. 74; *Muntaha'l-maqál* Ṭihrán, A. H. 1302), p. 343. The text has *al-Yamání* by mistake for *ath-Thumálí*. A. G. E.].

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Anecdote.

It is related by Ḥusayn b. Ḥamza, from Abú Ḥamza [1], from Saᶜd [2], from Abú Jaᶜfar Muḥammad b. ᶜAlí, generally known as [the fifth Imám, Muḥammad] Báqir (المعروف بباقر آل رسول الله), that ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbdi'l-ᶜAzíz during the time of his Caliphate (A. D. 717—720) visited al-Madína, and caused proclamation to be made there that anyone who had suffered wrong at the hands of the Umayyads should present himself before him and receive compensation, so far as was possible. The Imám Báqir presented himself, and al-Muzáḥim (المزاحم), ᶜUmar's client, notified the fact to his master, who bade him enter, and forthwith fell to weeping. When the Imám entered he found ᶜUmar in tears (f. 26*a*), and enquired as to the cause of his sorrow. Being informed, he turned to ᶜUmar and said:

يا عمر انّما الدنيا سوقٌ من الاسواق منها خرج قومٌ بما ينفعهم ومنها خرج [آخرون] بما يضرّهم وكم من قومٍ قد ضرّهم بمثل الّذى اصبحنا فيه حتّى اتاهم الموت ،

Anecdote.

ᶜAlí, seeing ᶜAmmár b. Yásir sad and sorrowful one day, consoled him in the following words:

عَلَامَ تَنفَسُكَ يا عَمّارُ إن كان على الآخرة فقد اخبرك رسول الله بانّك تقتلك ألفئة الباغية وان كان على الدنيا فما تستحقّ أن يؤسى عليها

[1] [i. e. Ḥusayn b. Ḥamza al-Laythí, grandson, by a daughter, of Abú Ḥamza. Cf. Najáshí, p. 40; *Manhaj*, p. 112; *Muntahá*, p. 119. The text has Ḥasan b. Ḥamza, but the only Ḥasan b. Ḥamza recorded in the Shíᶜa books of "*Rijál*" died in A. H. 358. A. G. E.].

[2] [Either Saᶜd b. Ṭaríf al-Ḥandẖalí (Najáshí, p. 127; *Fihrist*, p. 152; *Manhaj*, p. 159; *Muntahá*, p. 144), or Saᶜd b. Saᶜd b. al-Aḥwaṣ al-Ashᶜarí (Najáshí, p. 127; *Fihrist*, p. 151; *Muntahá*, p. 144), both of whom received traditions from the Imám Abú Jaᶜfar. A. G. E.].

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فانّ ملاذّها فى ستّ المأكول والمشروب والملبوس والمشموم والمركوب والمنكوح، فامّا المأكول فأفضله العسل وانّما هو قىء ذبابة وامّا المشروب فأفضله الماء وهو مباح لا ثمن له وامّا الملبوس فأفضله الديباج وانّما هو من لعابة دودة وامّا المشموم فأفضله المسك وانّما هو بعض دم وامّا المنكوح فأفضله النساء وانّما هو مَبَال فى مَبَال وامّا المركوب فأفضله الخيل وعلى ظهورها يُقْتَلُ الرّجال، قال فواللّه ما أُسِيتُ على شىء بعدها،

The following admonition is also ascribed to ʿAlí:

اذا اردتَّ الصّاحبَ فاللّه يكفيك واذا اردتَّ الرفيق فالكرام الكاتبون يكفيك واذا اردتَّ المؤنس فالقرآن يكفيك واذا اردتَّ الموعظة فالموت يكفيك فان لم يكفك ما قلتُ فالنّار يوم القيامة تكفيك

Anecdote.

One day Ḥasan of Baṣra was passing by a group of people who were speaking ill of Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf. He said to them:

انّ الحجّاج عقوبة اللّه عليكم فلا تستقبلوه بالسبّ واللعن والشّتم ولكن استقبلوه بالدّعاء والتّضرّع والابتهال الى اللّه تعالى والبكاء حتّى يَكْفِيَهُ عنكم قولوا اللّهمّ (fol. 26*b*) حَوِّلْنَا من ذلّ المعصية الى عزّ التوبة وبدّل هذه العقوبة بالرّحمة

"I heard," adds the author, "from a certain pious man in the city of Khwárazm, that the Children of Israel made complaint before one of their prophets, saying, 'Say unto God, "What have we done that Thou hast set over us one who knoweth Thee not, and hast afflicted us at the hands of a people who do not confess Thy Lordship, seeing that we confess Thee and magnify Thee?"' But God revealed to the prophet the following message to them: 'Verily when those who know Me rebel against me, I set over them one who knoweth Me not.'"

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Section I, ch. II.

First settlement of the kingdom of Ṭabaristán and its cities.

Farshwádgar[1] is bounded by Ádharbayján, Áhár, Ṭabaristán, Gílán, Daylam, Ray, Qúmis, Dámghán and Gurgán, and was first so defined by Minúchihr Sháh. As regards its etymology, some say that it means "Live safe and sound" (باش خور ای عِشْ سالماً صالحاً), but certain natives of Ṭabaristán assert that *farsh* means "plain" (*hámún*), *wád* "highlands" (*kúhistán*), and *gar* "sea", and that the name therefore signifies "land of mountain, plain and sea"; this interpretation, however, is modern. Older authorities say that *gar* (*jar*) means mountainous land susceptible of cultivation, where thickets and trees are found, *Jar-sháh* (or *Gar-sháh*) being an ancient title of the descendants of Súkhrá, the meaning of which is "King of the mountains"[1]. The name Mázandarán is more recent. Its king was killed by Rustam the son of Zál. It was originally called "Múz-andarún", because Múz was the name of a mountain on the confines of Gílán extending as far as Lár, Qaṣrán and Jájarm; and since this territory was "within [the mountains of] Mûz", it received this name. But as for what belongs to Ṭabaristán, from Dínár-járí on the east to a village called Maláṭ, beyond Húsam on the west[2], they say that in ancient days it was all jungle and forest, lagoon and fen, mountain and sea

[1] This, as pointed out by Darmesteter (*loc. cit.*, p. 507, n. 3 *ad calc.*) is a corruption of the ancient *Patashkhwár*, a name properly applied to the chain of mountains which separates Ṭabaristán from ʿIráq.

[2] So al-Bírúní says (*Chronology of Ancient Nations*, Sachau's transl., p. 107): "The Persians call the first man *Gayômarth*, with the surname *Gir-sháh*, *i.e.* 'King of the Mountain'..." See also Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 111, *s.v.* Garšāh.

Cf. Dorn's ed. of Dhahíru'd-Dín, p. 19 where the substance of this passage is reproduced.

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(f. 27*a*), and that until the time of Jamshíd it was in the possession of the demons. He conquered them, and bade them level the mountains with the plains, fill up the lakes, drain the fens into the sea, open up the country, and distribute the rivers and streams. He also caused castles to be made and duly provisioned for the highlanders, and brought water from the mountains to the plains; and so they held Ṭabaristán for a hundred years or more. Thereafter he brought craftsmen and artificers into that province, assigning land to each, and giving the wise and prudent authority over the others. The oldest settlement is Láriján, where, in the village of Waraka (ورکه بدـه) [1], Ferídún was born; which happened in this wise. When Dahák the Arab (ضحاك تازی) hewed Jamshíd in pieces, the family and descendants of that unfortunate king fled away and hid themselves wherever they could, and the mother of Ferídún and her attendants took refuge in the above-mentioned village, which is at the foot of Mount Damáwand. On the birth of Ferídún, they migrated to the more fertile Jíláb (or Chaláb: *Dhahíru'd-Dín*, p. 11, شلاب), where pasture is abundant and the people live by cattle-farming. When Ferídún was seven years old, he used to fix a guiding-rope in the noses of the cattle and ride them [2], so that one would say that heaven was reflected on earth, and that a second "Sun" (i. e. Ferídún) was arising from "the Bull" (the Sign of Taurus). Later, the other youths had recourse to him for protection and guidance, and he, mounted on a cow (f. 27*b*), used to go forth with them to the chase. After a time they migrated towards Lafúr (لفور; *Dhahír*, p. 12, لپور) to the village of Máwjakúh (ماوجکوه; *Dhahír*, ماوچکو), and were joined by the

[1] *Dhahíru'd-Dín*, p. 11, where the name stands ورك or ورکی.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

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people of Ummídwár-kúh and Kúh-i-Qárin, who made for the young prince the famous cow-headed mace. As his fame waxed greater, the number of his followers increased, until he felt himself strong enough to invade ʿIráq. On reaching Iṣfahán he was joined by the blacksmith Káwa, and, acting in conjunction with him, took Dahák captive.

نه فریدون گاو پرورده کرد شیرِ گرسنه‌را بَرّده
نه بیاری وسعی یك دو کیا بستند از بیورسپ ملك نیا

Having brought the fallen tyrant to his native village for one night, he conveyed him on the following day to the summit of Mount Damáwand, where he left him, bound and helpless, in a cave or pit which is still pointed out. Then, having established his authority over the Seven Climes, he took up his abode in Tammísha, where the ruins of his Palace are still apparent at a place called Bá-naṣrán (با نصران)[1], also the domes and cupolas of his bath, and the remains of the moat which he caused to be dug from the mountain to the sea. These, the author remarks, he had often seen and examined. Firdawsí says:

فریدون فرّخ تمیشه بکرد نشست اندر آن نامور بیشه کرد

This forest is also called in the books *Bísha-i-Nárwan* ("the Forest of wild Pomegranates"), and the river Báwul (now Bábul) waters the country to this day. When Karshásf went to China, he sent the Emperor of that kingdom, bound with golden chains and accompanied by eighty other princes, in the custody of Narímán to Ferídún, who was then in Tammísha.

The Foundation of Sárí.

Sárí was founded in ancient times by Ṭús the son of Núdhar, at a place called Ṭúsán to this day. In the time of

[1] *Dhahíru'd-Dín*, p. 13.

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Kay-Khusraw (f. 28*a*), Faríburz, fearing the king's wrath because of some fault which he had committed, fled thither and took refuge with the family of Núdhar, till Rustam came with a great army and carried him before Kay-Khusraw, who forgave him. The site of a castle built by him is still visible at a place called Lúman Dún (لومن دون)[1]. Sárí itself was ordered to be built in the time of the Great Farrukhán, king of Ṭabaristán, by Báv, one of his nobles, on the site of the village of Awhar (اوهر), which was chosen because of its high position, abundant streams, and pleasant surroundings. The inhabitants, however, bribed Báv to leave them in peace and choose another site, where Sárí actually stands. The king, on becoming aware of his disobedience, cast him into bondage, and caused him to be hanged at the place called in consequence of this *Báv-áviján* (باو آویجن), while with the money taken as a bribe he built a village called *Dínár-Kafshín* (دینار کفشین). The Mosque of Sárí was built in the reign of Hárúnu'r-Rashíd by the Amír Yaḥyá b. Yaḥyá, and completed by Mázyár b. Qárin. The four-doored dome (گنبذ چهار در) which stands opposite to the Palace of Bávandán was included by the late king Ardashír in his private garden. It was originally built by Minuchihr Sháh, but fell into dilapidation in the time of the Ispahbad Khurshíd Gávbán. It was then repaired[2], and is now so strong that it is impossible to detach a single brick from the fabric.

The Foundation of Rúyán.

Its first foundation was in the time of Ferídún (f. 28*b*). When his sons Túr and Salm slew their brother Íraj, he left a daughter in the district of Lafúr at Máwjakúh. Ferí-

[1] See Dorn's *Dhahiru 'd-Dín*, p. 29.

[2] *Dhahir*, p. 30.

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dún was then at a very advanced age, and his eyebrows drooped so that they had to be bound up. His earnest prayer was that he might live to see the death of his favourite son Íraj avenged, and he gave the daughter of Íraj in marriage to one of his nephews. When a child was born to her, it was shewn to the aged Ferídún, who said, "*Mánad chihr-ash bi-chihr-i-Íraj*" ("His face resembles the face of Íraj")[1], so he was called *Manuchihr*; and, as is set forth in the verse and prose *Sháhnámas* of Firdawsí and Mu'ayyidí, he avenged his grandfather Íraj ere Ferídún departed from this world. Here are cited the well-known verses of Firdawsi:

فریدون فرّخ فرشته نبود زمشك و ز عنبر سرشته نبود
بداد ودهش یافت آن نیکوئی تو داد ودهش کن که فرّخ توئی

Thereafter Pashang, the son of Afrásiyáb came with a great army to Dahistán to avenge the death of Salm. Minúchihr, king at Iṣṭakhr in Fárs[2], ordered Qárin [the son of] Gáwa, his brother Qubád, and Árish of Ray to oppose his advance. Afrásiyáb, having been worsted several times by the Persians, had recourse to a kind of treacherous stratagem of which, as Arab writers assert, he was the inventor. He wrote to Qárin saying, "I have received your letter and have taken note of your professions of loyalty[3] towards me. When I take the kingdom of Persia, I promise, as God is my witness, to hand it over to you." Afrásiyáb then arranged that the messenger who bore this letter should fall into the hands of a Persian noble who was in the confidence of Minúchihr and ill-disposed towards Qárin. This noble (f. 29*a*), having read the letter, at once reported the matter to Minúchihr, who, entirely deceived by Afrásiyáb's

[1] This is a fair sample of the etymologies which the Persians are so ready to invent.

[2] See Dorn's *Dhahír*, p. 14.

[3] *Dhahír*, p. 15.

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cunning ruse (for Qárin was perfectly loyal and meditated no treachery), ordered Qárin to be brought before him, and made over the command of the army to Árish. As soon as Qárin was thus removed, Afrásiyáb attacked the Persians and drove them back on ʿIráq. Then at length Minúchihr perceived that he had been duped, and reinstated Qárin in his command. Qárin advanced to Ray with his army. Afrásiyáb pitched his camp آنجا که دولاب وطهرانست, and daily gained some advantage over Minúchihr, who ordered the Castle of Ṭabarak to be constructed, and there, a year later, after many serious defeats, he was obliged to take refuge. At that date the city stood over against the spot afterwards occupied by the Cupola of Fakhru'd-Dawla (گنبذ شهنشاه فخر الدّولة), which place they now call [1] in Ray *Diz-i-Rashkán*, and it remained thus till the time of the Daylamites of the House of Buwayh, „and," adds the author, "in the house of the Ṣáḥib Ibn ʿAbbád I have seen a mound like a hill [which marks its site]." Minúchihr came from Ṭabarak to the city, fortified the walls, and abode there six months, when he was compelled to flee and escape by way of Láriján to Ṭabaristán, while Afrásiyáb made the wide world narrow to him as the eye of a needle:

كانّ بلاد اللّه وَهْىَ عريضةٌ على الخائف المطلوب كفّة حابل

Afrásiyáb pursued him into Ṭabaristán until he reached the limits of Rúyán, a village called Mánahar (مانهر). There, in one face of the mountain, is a great cavern, to the end of which no man hath ever penetrated, and in it Minúchihr concealed his treasures and stores. In the time of Ḥasan b. Yaḥyá al-ʿAlawí [2], called *kúchak* ("the Little"), this cave was entered, and much wealth found there. Afrásiyáb alighted at a village called Khusraw-ábád near Ámul (f. 29*b*), which

[1] *Dhahír*, p. 16.

[2] *Dhahír*, p. 17.

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village still existed in the time of Washmgír (A. D. 935—967) the son of Ziyár, the father of Qábús. Above this village was a tree called *Sháti-mázi-bun* (شاتی مازی بن), beneath which Afrásiyáb pitched his tent for twelve years, and during all this time Minúchihr had need of nothing which is imported from foreign countries except pepper, in place of which they used to eat a herb [1] called *kalíj* (کلیج), in order that their bodies might be able to resist the moisture of the climate. Finally Afrásiyáb concluded peace with Minúchihr (since he could not capture him) on the understanding that he should surrender to him one bowshot's width of territory. Árish thereupon shot an arrow from there to Merv, a statement recorded in many Persian and Arabic books, both verse and prose [2]; which some say that he achieved by virtue of some talisman or charm. This is one of the two shots in which the Persians glory, the other being the shot wherewith, in the reign of Kisrá (Anúshírwán), Wahriz slew the king of the Abyssinians [3]. From the conclusion of this war dates the prosperity of Rúyán, and the depopulation of this region (? Ṭabarak), for King Minúchihr thereafter established himself in Ṭabaristán.

Foundation of Ámul [4].

There were two brothers from the country of Daylam, one named Ashtád (f. 30*a*), the other Yazdán, who, because they had slain one of the nobles of Daylam with an arrow (بتفنگ), were obliged, with their families, to flee from their country. They settled near Amul, where the one founded

[1] *Dhahír*, p. 18.

[2] See, for instance, my edition of Dawlatsháh, pp. 60—61.

[3] This story is so well known that I omit the meagre version here given. See Nöldeke's *Gesch. d. Sasaniden*, p. 233 and *J. R. A. S.* for April, 1900, p. 229—230.

[4] *Dhahír*, p. 22.

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the village of Yazdánábád and the other the hamlet of Ashtád, both of which exist to this day. Ashtád had a very beautiful daughter. The great king of that time was named Fírúz, and had his capital at Balkh. One night he dreamed of this maiden, and on awaking cried [1]:

صُبح آمد وخورشید من از من بربود

خيالُك فى الكَرَى وَهْنًا أَتَانَا وِمِنْ سلسالِ ريقك قد سقانا

وبَاتَ مُعَانِقِى لَيْلًا تَمَامًا فلمّا بان وَجْهُ ٱلصُّبْحِ بانا

In vain did the king strive to expel her image from his mind:

قضى اللّه ما لا استطيع دفاعه فما كان لى ممّا قضى اللّه عاصمُ

Love so wasted his frame that:

لَوَ أَنَّ الاشعرىَّ رآه يَوْمًا لَسَمَّى بَعْدَهُ ٱلْمَعْدُومَ شيئًا

He then reflected within himself that the concealment of this secret was injuring his health (f. 30*b*):

شَفَانِى إِنْ أَفْشَيْتُ سِرَّكِ فِى ٱلْهَوَا

كَذٰلِكَ أَسْرَارُ ٱلْهَوَى إِنْ فَشَتْ شَفَتْ

and finally submits a very rhetorical statement of his condition to the chief Múbad (f. 31*a*) [2], who is greatly vexed and perturbed, declaring the king to be the victim of demoniacal possession, reproaching him for his unreasonable passion, and advising him to have recourse to a physician (f. 31*b*). The king endeavoured for a few days longer to get the better of his passion, and then, in accordance with the proverb, "Man eagerly desires that which is forbidden him," and the verses:

[1] *Dhahír*, p. 23.

[2] This is much simplified and abbreviated in *Dhahír*, p. 23.

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مرا عشق است وجز من مردمان‌را ازیـن انـواع بسـیار اوفتـادسـت
ملامت چون کنم خودرا نه زاوّل زمن آئـیـن ایـن کار اوفتـادسـت

he summoned his ministers and issued orders to all the Wardens of his Marches (*marzubáns*) to seek for the original of that vision. For some time their efforts met with no success, and the king's melancholy increased, until at length he entreated one of his relatives named Mihr Fírúz to undertake the quest, promising him a rich reward [1] if he should be successful (f. 32*a*). Mihr Fírúz declared that he would leave no stone unturned in his endeavour to find the king's desire:

فَٱشْرَبْ ماء ٱلْجَفْنِ إِنْ مَسَّنِى ٱلصَّدَا
وَٱكُلْ لَحْمَ ٱلْكَفِّ إِنْ كُنْتُ أَغْرَثْ

He then questioned the soldiers as to what regions they had left unexplored, and they replied that they had traversed the East and the West, all Persia and Arabia, save only Ṭabaristán. So on that very day Mihr Fírúz set out from Balkh for Ṭabaristán, followed by a caravan of provisions for the journey and costly presents, until he came to Ṭúsán (شهرستان طوسان), whence, aided by the governor, he pursued his search, grudging no expenditure, for rather more than a year, but met with no success. At length, accompanied by a few followers, he set off to explore the country lying towards the sea-coast. One day, near Ahlam (اهلم), his horse was drowned while he was fording a stream, and he himself with difficulty reached the further shore. Unable to return, he plunged into the forest, when at length he came upon a clear and beautiful stream, which he followed up till he reached the fountain which was its source. [2] There, to his amazement, he saw a girl whose appearance exactly

[1] *Dhahir*, p. 24.

[2] *Dhahir*, p. 25.

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corresponded with her whom the king had seen in his vision. He said to himself, "If she be a *jinniyya*, I will kill her (f. 32*b*), but if she be a human being, it is she whom I seek." So he drew his sword and advanced towards the fountain. The girl looked up at him and said, "O youth, who art thou, and what is thy name, and what dost thou here? For I wonder to see such an one as thyself in this place." Mihr Fírúz replied, "I am a human being. Tell me, now, of thy condition and family." "I too," replied the girl, "am of the human race; my home is in this place; and I have two fathers, to wit my father and his brother, and likewise a mother and many brothers." The girl, on Mihr Fírúz's request, consented to take him to her home, and, on reaching it, informed her mother of his arrival. Her mother received him with the utmost respect and courtesy, and sent her youngest son to summon her husband and his brothers, who came with all speed, and, after the fashion of Daylam, entertained him for three days without questioning him as to his business or condition. When, after this period, they enquired as to who he was and what had brought him to the country, he informed them that he was one of the nobles of the King, and had come thither for solitude and the chase, and described his separation from his companions, the loss of his horse, and his meeting with the girl. "Know," he concluded, "that I am not one of whom you need be ashamed, or who has need of your wealth or possessions. If you see fit, then give me this girl in marriage." "Thine appearance," said the father and mother," sufficiently indicates thy nobility [1], and thy courtesy thy virtue (f. 33*a*); how then should we not desire thee as a son-in-law?" Then they related to him their history, and how they had been compelled to flee from

[1] *Dhahir*, p. 26.

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their country, and added that they could promise nothing till they had consulted their elder brother. To him, accordingly, they went in company, and he received them with every honour, saying:

بی هیچ بهانهء وبی هیچ دلیل ناگاه بخوانِ عنکبوت آمد پیل

On hearing the propose of Mihr-Fírúz he readily agreed to it, and Mihr Fírúz at once sent off a messenger for the presents and supplies which he had left at Ṭúsán, informing the governor that he had fulfilled his quest, and bidding him notify the fact to the King. While one of the girl's brothers took this message, another sought out Mihr Fírúz's missing retainers. The King rejoiced greatly at the news, despatched valuable gifts, and ordered general illuminations and festivities (f. 33*b*). When the actual greatness of Mihr-Fírúz became apparent to Ashtád and Yazdán, they were overwhelmed with confusion, especially when he related to them the dream, and declared to them that it was not to himself, but to his master the king, that the girl was to be given in marriage. Then they sent off the girl in all haste to the Court, and when the king saw her, he at once recognized in her the original of his vision, and his love for her increased day by day. One day he asked her [1], "Why is it that the women of your country have such beautiful eyes, such fragrant mouths, and such soft skins?" She replied in her own language [of Ṭabaristán] [2]:

جاوید فرخ خسرو خدای انوشه ور جاوید اچ بامدادان سفر دین
چشم افروخ، آچ تاوستان کتان وزمستان پرنیان پوشین تن افروخ،
آچ سیر و انکسم خوردن دمش افروج،

The King applauded her answer and bade her crave a boon. She asked that a city might be built at Páy-i-Dasht,

[1] *Dhahir*, p. 27.

[2] For variants, cf. *Dhahír*, loc. cit., ll. 3—5.

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her native place, situated above the river Hirhiz (هرهز), and called after her name. Engineers and surveyors were at once sent thither to prosecute the work, and that same year a son was born to her named Khusraw. She desired the king to send her thither for change of air, because the climate of Balkh did not agree with her. They told her that the engineers had been unable to bring the water of the river Hirhiz to the spot which she had indicated as the site of the city, so she ordered that its name should still remain Páy-i-Dasht [1]; and there the signs of these buildings are apparent to this day (f. 34*a*). They called the place which the girl had chosen *Sharistána-marz*. The projected city was then transferred to the present site, called *Âstána-saráy*, but at first named *Máta* (ماته), now the site of the Great Mosque [of Âmul], wherein was formerly a fountain which drew its water from the Mountain of *Wandá-ummid*, and which was still running in the time of al-Yazdádí (see p. 3 *supra*). And when they had brought the water thither, they built the city-wall of baked bricks, so thick that three horseman could ride abreast along the top of it, and dug round about it a moat 33 cubits (ارش) in depth, and a bow-shot across; and in the wall they made four Gates, called respectively "of Jurján", "of Gílán", "of the Mountain", and "of the Sea". The area of the city was 400 *jaríbs* of land. The Palace of the king's wife, Âmula, stood where the "Street of the Washermen" (کوچهء گازران) now is, and behind the "Cloth-sellers' Market"; and her Tomb (دخمه) was in the same place. In the reign of Ardashír excavations were made here to a depth of two spears' lengths, and the sepulchre and surrounding buildings were disclosed. When the King's son Khusraw succeeded to the throne, he greatly enlarged Âmul, and made it his capital and residence, sur-

[1] *Dhahír*, p. 28.

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rounding the original wall with another of clay. The space between the two walls they called ربض, and what lay beyond the outer wall رَفَث, "which terms," says the author, "occur frequently in old title-deeds". The meaning of the name Ámul in their tongue is آهوش, both of these words meaning (f. 34*b*) "death", the sense here being "May death never touch thee!" (ترا هرگز مرگ مباد). It is related that when the Ispahbad Mázyár b. Qárin destroyed the walls of Ámul [1], they found on the top of the Gate of Gurgán a green casket (بسوقهٔ; *Dhahir*, p. 28, بستوقهٔ, explained by Vüllers as a cervical vertebra) sealed with tin (قلعی). The superintendent ordered it to be broken open, whereupon a small copper tablet bearing an inscription in the *kustaj* character [2] fell out. One who had skill in this character was summoned to read it, which, having mastered its contents, he could scarcerly be induced to do. On it was written, "The good construct and the wicked destroy; whosoever destroys this shall not survive the year." And it was even so; for ere the end of the year Mázyár was taken captive and executed at Surra-man-raʾa (A. H. 224 = A. D. 839). The Great Mosque of Ámul was built in the time of Hárúnuʾr-Rashíd, in A. H. 177 (= A. D. 793—4), by Ibráhím b. ʿUthmán [b.] Nahík [3]. He could not at first buy the whole site required, until the grandfather of Abuʾl-Ḥasan b. Hárún *al-Faqih*, who was named Anbárak, was converted to Islám and changed his name to Mubárak, whereupon he sold his house for this purpose, and others who possessed land in this quarter followed his example. When the Mosque was finished, they desired to ascertain the direction of the *qibla*, but it rained unceasingly for forty nights and days, and they were obliged

[1] See Ṭabarí (ed. de Goeje), Ser. iii, Vol. ii, p. 1275.

[2] See *Fihrist*, p. 13 of text and p. 8 of the notes. Cf. Masʿúdí's *Kitábu ʾt-Tanbih waʾl-Ishráf* (ed. de Goeje), p. 107.

[3] See Ṭabarí, Ser. iii, pp. 651—706.

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to have recourse to conjecture. The cost of the land occupied by the Mosque was 8032 *dinárs*, its length was 93 yards (ارش), its dome or roof (سماك), ten yards in length, contained 300,640 tiles (فرسب), and the cost of construction was 47,340 *dinárs*. In the time of Fírúz-Sháh, the original founder of the city, a ditch or moat was made from the frontier of Gurgán and Múqán, on the seashore, and traces of this moat, called "Fírúz-kanda" ("the Moat of Fírúz") are still visible in many places in Ṭabaristán, a fact on which al-Yazdádí has greatly insisted in his book. At the time of the foundation of Ámul (f. 35*a*), a certain man possessed one *jaríb* of land, which he refused to sell, lest his sons should forfeit the position of land-owners and sink to that of serfs. He appealed to the King, who admitted that he was right, and ordered him to receive an abundant payment for his little property.

Turícha (تريجه). The name of the place was originally Túrán-char (توران چر). In the time of Farrukhán the Great a treaty was concluded with the Turks whereby it was agreed that, in consideration of the payment of a tribute, they should abstain from invading Ṭabaristán. Two years later, having fortified the passes, the Persians refused to pay the tribute, and King Farrukhán retired to Fírúz-ábád, near Lafúr, and there entrenched himself. The Turks invaded Ṭabaristán, but Farrukhán fell upon them suddenly at night and slew them all. Túrán-char marks the site of this massacre.

Mámṭír (مامطير). This place was visited by the Imám Ḥasan b. ᶜAlí in the Caliphate of ᶜUmar, he being accompanied by an army of Arabs under Málik Ashtar an-Nakhaᶜí [1], and because of the excellence of the site and its natural advantages, especially its good water and sweet-voiced birds,

[1] See Baládhurí's *Futúḥ*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 164 and 228.

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he said: بقعةٌ طيّبة ماء وطير, and the last words of this sentence, *Má wa tír*, became corrupted into *Mamṭír* [1]. When Muḥammad b. Khálid was governor of the province (f. 35*b*) he constructed there a market and other buildings, to which, in A. H. 160 (= A. D. 776—7) Mázyár b. Qárin added a Mosque.

Other important cities of Ṭabaristán beyond Tammísha.

Gurgán was founded by Gurgín son of Mílád [2]. It was always the capital of the *marzubáns* of Ṭabaristán, and has a circuit of about four parasangs. Gurgín's ass-herds (*kharbandagán*) used to graze their beasts about Astarábád, which town sprung up to meet their needs and took its name from their mules (*astar*). The whole land, from Dínár-jáy [3] to Malát (which is the extreme limit of Ṭabaristán in that direction), and from Ray and Qúmis to the seashore, was well cultivated and thickly populated, and there were 28 cities within the district of Tammísha, each with its mosques, oratories, markets, judges, and men of learning, as follows:

In the Plain. (1) Ámul, (2) Sárí, (3) Mámṭír, (4) Rúbast, (5) Árazm (B. Árarm), (6) Turícha, (7) Muthla (مثلة), (8) Mihrawán, (9) Machúrí (B. *Bíjúrí*), (10) Ahlam, (11) Jálús (B. *Sálús*), (12) ملسرائيك (B. بلسرائيك), (13) Ṭís (or Quhsibah, or B. Mahastiya), (14) Tammísha, (15) Gurgán.

In the Mountains. (16) Kalár [4], (17) Rúyán [4], (18) Namár, (19) Kajúya [4], (20) Wíma (ويمة), (21) Shalanba, (22) Wabád (B. *Wamád*), (23) Abkhama (ابخمة), (24) Sármám, (25)

[1] The modern Bárfurúsh. Cf. *Dhahír*, p. 80.

[2] Cf. *Dhahír*, p. 22.

[3] *Dhahír*, p. 21, has "Dínár-járí, which is the eastern limit of all Ṭabaristán."

[4] B. enumerates these three places in the preceding class.

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Farím, (26) Hazár-garí [1], (27) Damáwand, (28) Láríján.

The revenues of Ṭabaristán in the time of the Ṭáhirids (بعهد ایّام طاهریّه, i. e. A. D. 820—872) amounted to 6,003,000 *dirhams*, according to the following detail:

Sárí as far as Tammísha:	1,300,000	*dir.*
Mámṭír and Turícha:	370,000	„
Âmul:	1,400,000	„
Ƒálús(B. Sálús)-*Rúyán*: 300,000 + 900,000 =	1,200,000	„
Rán-Ḥál (f. 36*a*):	360,000	„
Damáwand (B. Dunbáwand):	1,200,000	„
TOTAL:	5,830,000	„ [2]

The farms (ضیاع) of Ṭabaristán were divided into three classes, and they produced in the time of the Ṭáhirids 7,000,900 dirhams, as follows: [3]

تفصیل المعروف

المعروف بماموند که خلیفه از اصفهبد جمشید خرید، 300,000 *dir.*

المعروف بحور وخلاص [ایّام مازیار B.] هفتاد [هشتاد B.] و دو پاره ده بود، 1,000,300 „

غلّات فضایل مرغ و ماهی دریا و ادویه، 1,300,000 „ [4]

سفجیه امیارهٔ کوه و امورمدود [لفور و مدو و مازیار B.] 1,500,000 „

ضیاع که محمّد بن عبد اللّه طاهر را باقطاع دادند، 1,000,000 „

ضیاع غلّات مسلمیات بن طاهر، 1,000,000 „

TOTAL: 6,100,300 „

[1] Over this and under (23), which stands immediately above it in the MS., the name *Umyár-kúh* (امیار کوه) is written in red.

[2] As this falls short of the total given above by 173,000 *dirhams*, it would appear that something has been omitted from the details.

[3] The text of what follows I print in the original, as I do not altogether understand it, leaving the sums mentioned (which are plainly written out in full, not in numbers or in the difficult *siyáq* generally used in financial statements) in our numerals, as before. Here again it will be observed that some error has crept in, for these sums fall short of the total of mentioned by 900,600 *dirhams*.

[4] B. has only "500,000".

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The total income from all the farms, land-taxes and imposts of Ṭabaristán beyond Tammísha in the time of the Ṭáhirids amounted to 13,300,000[1] *dirhams*.

جملهٔ ضیاع طبرستان و خوارج وتمامت دخل از رسومات طاهریّه سیزده هزار بار هزار وسیصد و سی هزار درم بود خلاف محصول بیرون تمیشه،

Section I, ch. III.

On the virtues and wonders of Ṭabaristán (f. 36*a*).

In ancient times Ṭabaristán was always the refuge and stronghold of the old kings and nobles, because of its natural strength, its independence of other countries for the necessaries of life (f. 36*b*), and its fertility. Its only disadvantage, in short, is the moisture of its climate and the excessive rainfall, which result from its proximity to the sea.

Anecdote.

It was related by the Qáḍí Abú ʿAbdi'r-Raḥmán Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdu'l-Ḥamíd al-Lamrásakí (اللمراسكى) to Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlí b. Muḥammad al-Yazdádí, on the authority of his father, who had it from men of ancient time, that there lived in the neighbourhood of Lamrásak a man named Shahr-Khwástán the son of Zardastán (شهر خواستان بن زردستان), possessed of great wealth in personal and landed property and cattle, aged, experienced, and surrounded by numerous sons, cousins and kinsmen, all loyally attached to him. When Farrukhán, the great Ispahbad, had completed the construction of Sárí and the great Dyke, all the people, save Shahr-Khwástán, offered him their congratulations and eulogies. The Ispahbad was vexed at this omission (f. 37*a*), and despatched two horsemen to bring Shahr-Khwástán be-

[1] B. has "13,000 and 330,000."

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fore him. When they arrived, he was holding a great banquet, at which all the local nobles and gentry were present. Ordering the two messengers to be hospitably entertained, he packed in sacks samples of all the products of Ṭabaristán, garments of wool, silk, linen and cotton, bread-stuffs of all sorts, sweetmeats, apples, cereals, water-cresses, fresh and salted game, birds, fruits, wines, fragrant herbs, flowers, and the like, and, furnished with these, set off for Sárí, where he arrived at day-break. By chance the Ispahbad was giving a great banquet, at which he was presiding, seated on a high throne, whence, after pronouncing a *khuṭba* after the fashion of kings, he addressed the people as follows. "O men of Ṭabaristán, know that ye were a people dwelling apart in a corner of the world, of whom no fame was spread abroad, and to whose country none were attracted. Ye dwelt in jungles with the wild beasts and beasts of prey, ignorant of the enjoyments of life, the ways of men, soft raiment, good horses and agreeable perfumes. It was I who introduced you to nobler aims and a richer and more desirable life; who built for you fine cities which attracted travellers and merchants from afar, so that rare and precious merchandises flowed into your country, and ye became notable and famous in the world, and your cities celebrated for their wealth and splendour. For all this I deserve your thanks." Then all those present, except Shahr-Khwástán, rose up and applauded. The Ispahbad, observing with displeasure Shahr-Khwástán's silence (f. 37*b*), cried to him, "What ails thee that thou art tongueless as a fish and soulless as a serpent?" Said the other, "If permission be accorded me, I will speak;" and, on receiving permission, he produced and opened the ten sacks which he had brought with him, and displayed their contents. Then he spoke as follows: "May the Ispahbad-Ispahbadán live long! O assembly, we were in this land men indepen-

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dent of imports from other countries, contented with what sufficed for our needs, and enjoying ample ease and luxury. None hindered us, nor envied us, nor contended with us, nor coveted our country, nor was cognizant of its secrets. We had need of no one; we had houses, corn-lands and hunting-grounds within the Great Dyke, and every two parasangs was stationed a head-man, captain or squire, whom all man readily obeyed. Now this Prince hath made all strangers and foreigners to know us and our land, and hath caused them to flock hither and settle here, and ere long they will pick a quarrel with us, strive to take our land, and drive forth our children as wanderers and exiles." Then the Ispahbad and the people perceived that he spoke truly, and asked what should now be done, to which he replied, "The thing is done, and there is now no averting it. Had you consulted with me sooner, I would have shewn you a way. Please God that by the Prince's good fortune no harm may result."

The virtue, beauty, health and excellence of the women of Ṭabaristán have been already mentioned (f. 38*a*) in connection with the narrative of the building of Ámul by Fírúz-sháh. ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán Khúrzád[1] says in his *Book of Routes and Provinces* (كتاب المسالك والممالك) that physicians and sages have agreed that the two healthiest and most charming countries are Ṭabaristán and Samarqand. Of the latter, Ḥuṣayn (حصين) b. Mundhir ar-Raqqáshí said:

كأنّها السّماء فى الخضرة و نهرها المجرّة للاعتناق وسورها الشمس للاطباق،

while of the former Buzurjmihr said, in reply to a question from Núshírwán, "Its name is *Ṭarab* ('joy') and *Bustán* ('garden')." ʿAbdu'lláh b. Qutayba (A. has قتنه in error for قتيبه) said that it ought to be called *Tabaristán* (with ت for

[1] [Probably Ibn Khurdádhbih. See de Goeje's ed. of his *Kitábu'l-masálik*, pp. 171—172, where ar-Raqqáshí's remark above cited is given in substance. A.G.E.].

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ط as the first letter), for it was as though it had been pruned with axes (*tabar*). "As for its plains, its mountains, its seas and its swamps," runs another saying, "its mountains are a stronghold and refuge for its kings, its swamps are a treasury for its people, its seas are a hunting ground for them, and its plains are a paradise." (Here follows an Arabic poem of seven couplets in its praise). In it are no noxious reptiles or hurtful beasts, like the snakes of Sístán and India, the scorpions of Nişíbín, Káshán, Jáshk and Múqán, the locusts of ʿAskar, the tarantulas and fleas of Ardabíl, the beasts of prey of Arabia, or the crocodiles of Egypt; nor plagues like the alopecia of Baṣra, or the drought of Syria, or the excessive heat of ʿUmán, Shíráz and Ahwáz. In short, all men agree that there is no country so delectable as a residence; there are abundant fruits, firewood, spices, mountains, plains, sulphur-mines (f. 38*b*), sulphate of iron (زاج), antimony (سُرْمَه), gold and silver-mines [1], and all sorts of fabrics for clothing. Of its products in his time al-Yazdádí thus speaks:

و یزدادی آورده است که در عهد اوّل اطلس و نسج و عتابی پیش بها و انواع دیباء بهائی و سقلاطون مرتفع و سرب گران قیمت وکافوری که ورای آن صورت نبندد بنیکوئی و خوبی و پردهای ابریشمین و پشمین و میزرهای باریك و انماد بهتر از جَهْرُمی و قالیهای محفوری و آبگینه‌های بغدادی و حصیرهای عبادانی بطبرستان آمدندی و از آنجا باقصی بلاد عالم جلب کردندی که در همهٔ آفاق مثل آنکه آنجا یافتند نبود و بازار متاع سقسین و بلغار تا بعهد ما آمل بود و مردم از عراق و شام و خراسان و حدود هندوستان بطلب متاع بآمل آمدندی و بازرگانیٔ مردم طبرستان ببلغار و سقسین بود بحکم آنکه سقسین از آن لب دریا در مقابل آمل نهاده

[1] Melgunof, *Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, p. 24.

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است و چنین گویند که چون بسقسین کشتی رود بسه ماه برسد و چون از آنجا آید هفته آدینه آنجا نماز گذارند و آدینهٔ دیگر باعلم باشد از آنکه چون میروی بفرازست و چون می آئی در نشیب و زنان باشند در طبرستان که بروزی پنجاه درهم کسب کنند بحسن صنعت دست خود و هرگز درویشی مرقّع چنانکه در سایر بلاد باشند یافته نشود،

In illustration of this last statement, that poverty is unknown amongst the natives of Ṭabaristán, the author relates how a certain man of that province, settled at Mecca, boasted of this fact. The people of Mecca, anxious to disprove his assertion, hunted high and low till at length they found a beggar who said he was from the parish of Ḥázima-Kúy in Ámul in Ṭabaristán. Him they confronted with the man who had uttered this boast (f. 39*b*). "What," said the latter, "do they call a skirt (*dáman*) in your town?" "*Dáman*," replied the other. "And a pocket (*jayb*)?" continued he. "*Jayb*," answered the beggar. "You are a liar," said the other, "and no true-born Ṭabarí, for in Ámul they call a skirt *lunbur* (لنبر) and a pocket *gurívun* (or *giryún*, گریون)." The man then admitted that he had been born at Ray and only taken to Ámul in childhood by his father and mother.

The taxes and imposts of Ṭabaristán are light, and especially was this the case under the rule of the House of Báwand, while the water is abundant, good, and freely accessible to all. The satraps, governors and Ispahbads of Ṭabaristán have always enjoyed a great influence, and Kisrás and Caliphs alike have sought their advice and counsel. Their doctors, scribes, physicians, astronomers and poets also include many famous names, and, from the time of Ferídún and Minuchihr, who have been already mentioned, many great and notable men have sought refuge there.

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Thus when Rustam-i-Zál was hurled into the sea of Qulzum (the Caspian) by Akwán Dív, he came ashore in Ṭabaristán, and was hospitably entertained by the inhabitants. His son Suhráb sought him through Túrán, Írán, India and Rúm, and at length found him in Rúyán, at a place called Líkash (ليكش), where the fatal fight took place between them, in which Suhráb was slain. Rustam intended to carry his coffin back to Zábulistán, but, owing to the heat, he deposited it at Sárí, at the place called Qaṣr-i-Tús, where, it is said, it was eventually buried (f. 39*b*). So too Dárá, fleeing before Alexander, took refuge in Ṭabaristán, and sent a message to the invader, saying, "I grant that you have conquered the Seven Climes, but what will you do with Farshwádjar?" The author adds that in A. H. 611 (= A. D. 1214—1215) the Castle known as *Diz-i-Dárá* („The Fortress of Darius") was still standing near the sea (بكوه تاجى وا دارم بويشه نزديك دريا). Again in the time of Khusraw Parwíz (A. D. 590—627) his uncle Gustahm (Bisṭám), because the King had cut off his brother Bindú'è's hands and feet, fled from his Government of Khurásán and took refuge in Ṭabaristán, and was only slain at length by treachery on the part of Bahrám Chúbína's sister Gurdiya, who was instigated thereunto by the King. Again in Sásánian times a king named Salyán (سليان) took refuge in Ṭabaristán, and built himself a residence at the place called *Kiya-Salyán* (كيسليان), the meaning of *kiya* (كيه) in the Ṭabarí dialect being "house". This building was still standing in the author's time, A. H. 613 (= A. D. 1216—1217).

The Wonders of Ṭabaristán.

Mount Damáwand. ʿAlí b. Zayn al-Kátib, in his work entitled *Firdawsu ʾl-Ḥikmat* [1], says that the ascent is made

[1] Probably the work of this title by Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlí of Ray, mentioned by Ḥájí Khalífa, N°. 9015.

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from the village of Ask in two days. It is a conical peak, and is covered with snow, save for a space of thirty *jaríbs* at the summit, which is free from snow both in summer and winter, and is covered with sand (? ashes) into which the feet sink. At and about the summit are thirty craters and fissures, whence issue forth smoke, sulphurous fumes, and strange rumbling noises, whereby men know that there is fire within the mountain. No animal can live on it, because of the violent winds which blow about it, and it is said that the Philosopher's stone of the Alchemists (كبريت اصحاب كيميا) is to be found there (f. 40*a*). Al-Yazdádí relates that in the time of Qábús Shamsu'l-Ma'álí (A. D. 976—1012) there was a youth called the son of Amír Ká (پسر امير كا) who found this "Red Sulphur" (كبريت احمر) there, and with it made gold, until this matter became known to the King. In Mount Damáwand, it is said, Solomon imprisoned Ṣakhr, the *jinní* who stole his ring, praying God to torment him there till the Resurrection; and this tradition is vouched for on the authority of 'Alí b. Abí Ṭálib. But the stories told concerning Bívarasp (*i. e.* Azhidaháka, or Dahák), which were enquired into by the Caliph 'Abdu'lláh al-Má'mún, and [what happened] in the reigns of Hurmuzd and Khusraw Parwíz, the Sásánian kings, and the story of Músá b. 'Ísá as-Sarwí, which are related in the *Book of Pírúz-Mihrján*, and other similar legends [1]) are here omitted as incredible and unauthenticated. In the books of the *Herbeds* and Magians it is related that Núshírwán the Just sent a trusty messenger to Ṣakhr the *jinní*, who, when the messenger came and saluted him, enquired who had sent him. On learning that it was Núshírwán, he rose to his feet, prayed, and gave three things to the messenger in a sealed packet,

[1] The text here, which I do not understand, has: و حوالت كنيزك و حرّة السعيد،

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bidding him deliver them to the King, and entreat him in return to effect the release of the giver. These three things were three drugs, one to keep off old age, one to quicken digestion, and one an aphrodisiac. When these confections were brought to Núshírwán, he said, "I have no need of them, for old age is the ornament of man, and a source of dignity and honour: would that I were already old! Sexual desire, again, is only necessary for the continuance of the human race: whatever exceeds this is evil, not good. And artificial aids to digestion are only needful to him who eats too much; to the temperate man, who only eats to maintain his strength, they are useless and even pernicious (f. 40*b*). Over and above all this, these drugs may not possess the properties alleged, and may have been given me for my destruction." Then he ordered the drug which was supposed to be a cure for old age to be given to a dog, and its head swelled up till it was as large as a cow's, until it died in great agony, and was secretly buried by Núshírwán's order.

Anecdote.

There was once a king called Máhiya-sar, whose head was abnormally small, and devoid of hair. He therefore always wore a turban, summer and winter, night and day, so that no one could see his head. Some say that he was a Jew named Shamʿún (Simon) b. Khudádád, others that he was a Magian named Bálí the son of Farrukh-Ádín. His mother, Rúz the daughter of Khurshíd, was a cunning witch and sorceress, incomparable in her time in the arts of Magic. They dwelt in a place four parasangs from Ámul, called now *Âsí-Visha* and his palace was in a village which still exists and is called Vílír (ویلیر). Between the villages of Kílankúr (کیلنکور) and Shír-ábád is a great forest, thick and high, which is

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still called *Máhiya-sarí Diz*, and near it is a deep moat or dyke filled with water covered with duck-weed (آب مطحلب), into which anything which falls disappears for ever, while no boat can cross it, and any animal falling into it does but drown the quicker the more it struggles. On that side where the north wind blows there is an open space, where grow daffodils the like of which in fragrance can be nowhere found; while in the village of Vílír is a certain species of fig (انجیر خسرهانی), superior to those of Ḥulwán. Now this king Máhiya-sar was a wicked and unprincipled tyrant, of whom his subjects stood in terror, and he had accumulated vast wealth which he had buried under various buildings. When ᶜAbdu'lláh b. Maḥmúd b. Núḥ Abu'l-ᶜAbbás was governor of Ṭabaristán, an old man a hundred years of age came before him from that district, and gave him certain indications as to the site of these buried treasures. Abu'l-ᶜAbbás accordingly sent skilled and trusted man to excavate (f. 41*a*), and in these excavations they expended much money, but whenever they came on traces of treasure a landslip always occurred, killing several and nullifying their labours, so that at last they were forced to abandon their attempts.

Anecdote.

One of the Kisrás sent a confidential messenger to Máhiya-sar ordering him to present himself at his court, under pain of incurring the Royal displeasure, Máhiya-sar had prepared a talisman which kept all the frogs and other reptiles (بنات الماء) quiet during the day, but at night they made so much noise that the whole heaven and earth seemed to be in commotion. When at night-time Kisrá's ambassador heard this fearful riot (هول رستاخیز), he was dazed with wonder and fear, and asked what was the matter. They replied,

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"The king's watchmen by night." "And where," enquired he, "are they by day?" "By day," they answered, "they rest." When the ambassador returned and related this to Kisrá, they told him that he must have been dreaming.

In the *History of the Barmecides* (تاريخ برامكه) it is said that this Máhiya-sar originally owned the "Barmecide Ring" (انگشترى برمك) which afterwards belonged to the Umayyad Caliph ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwán (A. D. 685—705); but this story, as well as many others referring to Máhiya-sar which are given by al-Yazdádi, is discredited by the author on chronological grounds.

Anecdote.

Near Ummídwár Kúh is a well called *Cháh-i-Vijan* (? "Bízhan's Well") which no one has been able to fathom, though loads of rope have been brought thither, knotted together, and let down into it (f. 41*b*). When a stone is thrown into it, the noise of its falling is heard for a long time until at last it ceases. During summer a cool breeze continually blows from this well, and round about it are trees, and thence they carry logs and planks to Ámul [1], because of the fragrant scent of this wood. And one who sits on this wood in summer feels a coolness, and on these trees always sit birds of the kind called *saqqá* (سقّا).

Near Rúyán is a well-known village called Saʿíd-ábád, where every child born in the summer dies in infancy, so that it has become customary for women who are with child and expect to be delivered during the summer months to quit the place and go elsewhere.

Near Kalár (كلار) there is a village called Dilam (دلم), and

[1] The text has: كه غرسب و پلور بآمل از آنجا برند, I conjecture the meaning of these two words, with which I have never met elsewhere.

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no one who is born there survives his twentieth year.

Near Nátil (ناتل) is a village called Mandúr (مندور), where over an area of 60 *jaríbs* when rice is sown so much water wells up from the ground that it suffices for all that rice-field without need of further irrigation, and at the time of reaping it all disappears. In the same district is another village called Nigáristán, on the summit of a hill, and in it is a rock, surrounded for five parasangs by plain and jungle, as far as Ámul; and from this rock five streams of clear water issue forth, which are more abundant in proportion as the summer is hotter, while in winter they cease altogether.

Near Ámul grows a herb called *Gunduya Zúma* (گندیه زومه), the properties of which are thus described:

اگر اورا بدست بمالند و در قضیب مرد مالند انعاظ گیرد و ورم کند و دو چندان شود که بوده باشد و بعد یك ساعت با قرار آید وآن گیاه‌را برگهای خوردك بود،

A peculiarity of the town of Jálús (Shálús) is that it makes people's skins white, so that if an Indian or Kábulí girl remains there for one year, she becomes fair as a Greek or Slav.

In Wandád-Hurmuzd Kúh there is a place (f. 42*a*) into which, when there is a year of drought, the people throw triturated onions, whereupon rain at once falls, but the person who has pounded the onions dies within the year.

In Ummid-wár Kúh grows a herb called *Gúr-tír* (گور or گوبر تیر), and if anyone picks it smiling, or weeping, or speaking well, or playing, and gives it to another to eat, that other, so long as the herb is in his stomach, behaves in the same way as did the gatherer while he was picking it.

Near Ṭabaristán is a place called Páníra-Kúh (پانیره or پایزه کوه), where, in the time of al-Yazdádí, there was a dyke called Fírúz-Kúh, and adjoining this was another mountain whereon grew a poisonous herb.

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Near Rúdbár hyacinths grow, and on Wandád-Hurmuzd-Kúh grow sweet rushes (انخر), as at Mecca, which they call *Mushkwásh* (مشکواش) [1].

In Siyáh-rúd, near Jamanú, in the village of Danakí, there is a whirlpool or eddy called *Kanzgirdáb*, where Alexander the Great buried the vast treasures which he had amassed. Many later kings and rulers have sought to recover them, but have always failed. Mákán the son of Kákí was the last to try, and he spent vast sums of money in removing the water, till at length he reached a point where signs of treasure, bricks and traces of buildings, were visible. "Tomorrow," said they, "we shall finish our task;" but that night the water again broke in and concealed all, while Mákán dreamed that a voice cried to him, "Weary not thyself in vain, for it was not laid up for thee." And thereafter no further attempt was made. Every twenty-five years there is a year of scarcity, and the price of corn goes up.

Anecdote of the Dragon and Sám-i-Narimán.

The poet of Ṭabaristán [2] says:

تنه هشتر تر بوم بدلیری ای سوم،

There once appeared in Shahriyár-Kúh a dragon fifty thousand cubits (*gaz*) in length, and in that region, as far as the sea-coast, no animal dared pass through plain or mountain for fear of it (f. 42*b*), so that they abandoned that district, whereupon it advanced as far as Sárí. Then the inhabitants besought Sám to help them, and he came forth, saw it from afar, and said, "With these weapons I

[1] I do not understand the following words: و اشنان دست از آن می سازند.

[2] Probably Abu'l-ᶜAmr, mentioned by the same title or f. 45*a* (p. 47 *infra*).

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can do nothing." By the time he had prepared suitable weapons, the dragon had avanced to Alárash near the sea-shore, and he came upon it at a place called Gáw-Kaláda (گاو کلاده). The dragon, on seeing Sám, rushed upon him. Sám smote it on the head with his mace, so that it fell asunder, and the dragon uttered so fearful a cry that all Sám's companions fell to the ground in terror. It then strove to encircle Sám with its tail, but he sprang back forty paces. It continued to move for three days and then died, and to this day no grass will grow on this spot, as is well known.

Section I, ch. IV.

Account of the kings, nobles, doctors, saintly and famous men, scribes, physicians, philosophers and poets of Ṭabaristán.

1. *Mázyár.* — He was one of the most capable princes who ever reigned. One day his trainer (رایض) was riding one of his favourite horses. "Do you detect any fault in this horse?" enquired Mázyár. "It is one of the finest to be found in all the world," answered the trainer; "what is wrong with it?" "There is no marrow in its shoulder-blades;" answered Mázyár. He then ordered the horse to be killed, and they found it was even as he had said.

On another occasion he was informed that a certain horse-breader in Tukháristán had in his stud a horse valued at 100,000 *dirhams*. He at once despatched several experts in horseflesh to buy it for him. When they reached their destination, the owner would only allow them to look at the horse and not to ride it. It appeared to be a beautiful animal, well-proportioned, graceful and strong. They wrote to Mázyár for instructions. He replied (f. 43*a*): "Assuredly the owner would not impose such a condition unless he

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was aware of some blemish in the animal. Before buying it, you must make it a condition that you shall be allowed to lassoo it. If, when the lassoo falls round its neck, it pricks up its ears, looks sharply down between its fore-feet, and draws its tail inwards, then buy it; but if it strains its neck against the noose, throws out its sides, and lays back its ears, then refuse to buy it." When they tried the experiment, it happened even as he had said, and they rejected it accordingly.

After his death the Caliph put ʿAlí b. Zayn in his place in the Foreign Office (دیوان انشا), but the despatches written by him were less rich in meaning than those penned by Mázyár. They asked him why this was so. He replied: "He wrote in his own language; I translate into Arabic." Mázyár's cunning and generosity, as well as his capture and execution at Surra-man-raʾa, will be mentioned in their proper place.

2. *Alandáy*[1] *the son of Sukhrá*, King of Ṭabaristán. In strength and courage he was reckoned the equal of Rustam. One night he rode forty parasangs after a stag, and at the end swam a river in flood, and slew the quarry.

اورا گفتند مؤیّدست بورج[2]،

3. *Wandád Hurmuzd the son of Alandáy*, also celebrated for his courage. His doughty deeds, and how he slew Farásha and "the Devil of Farʿán" (Sálim of Farʿán or Farghán)[3], will be told in its proper place. When Hárúnuʾr-Rashíd reached Ray, he sent [his son] al-Maʾmún to be laid in his lap, and he bestowed on al-Maʾmún villages whereof the revenues amounted to 1,600,000 *dirhams*. When he slew Farásha, he gave to the Ispahbad Sharwín, "King

[1] See Melgunof's *Südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, p. 52.
[2] See Melgunof, p. 50 *ad calc.*
[3] *Dhahir*, pp. 156, 158—159.

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of the Mountains" [1], who came to help him, one third (دو دانگ) of the spoils; and when, after the death of Farásha, Hárúnu'r-Rashíd came to Ray, Wandád Hurmuzd went out to meet him (f. 43*b*). When the Caliph's eyes lighted upon him, he began to upbraid, reproach and fiercely threaten him, whereupon Wandád said, "I do not understand Arabic, but I perceive that the Commander of the Faithful is incensed against me, and is upbraiding me in unkind words. Why did he not speak thus when I was in my own highlands? Now that, unconstrained and of my own free will, I come before him loyally and obediently, it ill befits his greatness to address in such terms his guest and his faithful servant." Hárún, when this was interpreted to him, admitted that he was in the right, increased his rank, and ordered a cushion to be brought that he might be seated. When the cushion was brought, Wandád, instead of sitting down on it, placed it on his head, saying, "A cushion from the Commander of the Faithful is an honour; it is better placed on the head." When he rose up to depart, Hárún ordered the cushion to be sent with him.

Another day, while he was sitting with Hárún, the uncle of the latter entered the room. All those present rose up, except Wandád. This displeased the Caliph and those with him. Immediately afterwards Yazíd b. Murthad arrived and did obeisance. Wandád immediately rose up and paid homage to him. Everyone smiled, and Hárún said, "My uncle is my own flesh and blood, while this man is the least of my servants. Whence that uncalled for rudeness, and this unnecessary politeness?" Wandád Hurmuzd answered, "I did not recognize your uncle, and why should I rise up for one whom I do not know? But this is a brave and capable man, therefore I paid him a tribute of respect.

[1] Concerning this title, see Melgunof, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

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When thou didst send him to my kingdom, he was encamped against me for a whole year, and every morning he set his army in battle-array in a different fashion. And I had there (f. 44*a*) a knight who was his equal in courage and valour, whom I sent out against him on the day of battle; but in less time than it takes one to draw a sword from its scabbard, I saw my champion's head fall before him. Next day I myself went out to meet him. He struck me such a blow with his sword as I had never before experienced. Before such a man, though he be my enemy, I willingly rise up." The Caliph was pleased at his speech, and thereafter promoted Yázíd b. Murthad to high rank.

In the palace of Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, in the house of Umm Ja'far, there was a tame monkey, which was treated with the utmost respect. It used to be girt with a sword and girdle, and had assigned to its service thirty men, who rode with it when it went forth. Everyone who came to pay his respect at the court was required to kiss its hand and pay hommage to it; and it was of such evil nature that, in the words of the author:

چنین شنیدم که آن بوزنه چند دختر بکررا بکارت بر داشته بود و اباحت و الحادی از حیا و دیانت و حرمت شریعت می ورزید،

One day Yazíd b. Murthad went, after taking leave of the Caliph, to the house of Umm Ja'far to bid farewell to her. They brought the ape before him and bade him kiss its hand. He drew his sword and cut it in two, and turned back in anger. Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, being informed, summoned him and asked him what had impelled him to this action. He replied, "O Commander of the Faithful! Shall I serve apes after having served Caliphs? No, by God, never!" So the Caliph forgave him. Muslim b. al-Walíd says in a threnody which he composed on him:

قَبْرٌ بِأَرَّانَ ٱسْتَنِيرَ ضَرِيحُهُ خَطَرًا تَقَاصَرُ دُونَهُ ٱلْأَخْطَارُ

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4. *Khurshíd the son of Dázamihr* [1]. A prince of Khurásán once came to pay his respects to him with many gifts and offerings, and a lodging was assigned to him near the Ispahbad. He asked for dishes and trays whereon to arrange the presents (f. 44*b*). They brought from the Ispahbad's plate-room five hundred silver trays. The Khurásání demanded more. They sent to Farrukhán's daughter, the chief wife of the Ispahbad, and obtained from her five hundred more. The Ispahbad then received the presents from Khurásán on these thousand trays, and in return sent to the prince two thousand trays filled with presents of the produce of Ṭabaristán, together with 100,000 *dirhams*.

On another occasion a man brought to him as a present a cup set with jewels and shaped like a cock, the two eyes of which were formed by two large red rubies of great value. The Ispahbad accepted it, and rewarded the donor. Some time afterwards it was reported to him that the donor was boasting that he had rendered to the Ispahbad an unparalleled service. Thereupon the latter invited five hundred guests, including the donor of the cup, to a wine-party, and before each of them was set a cup shaped like it, but far better. The donor of the original cup apprehended the rebuke, apologized, and received back his gift together with twice its value in money.

5. *The Ispahbad Pádhúsbán* [2]. He used daily to feed six hundred man in three detachments, 200 in the morning, 200 at noon, and 200 at evening. ʿAbdu'lláh Faḍlawayh as-Sarwí had fled from Muḥammed Yazíd and sought refuge with him. He made him an allowance of 200,000 *dirhams* for "bread-money", and continued it to his sons after he died.

[1] Melgunof, p. 50, *ad calc.* Coins of both these kings are extant. See, besides the references given by Melgunof, Vol. v of the *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, p. 123.

[2] Melgunof, pp. 50—51; Nöldeke's *Sasaniden*, p. 151, n. 2 *ad calc.*

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Sayyids of the house of the Prophet who ruled in Ṭabaristán.

1. Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Ismaʿíl (called *Ghálibu'l-ḥijára*, "the Stone-lifter", because of his strength) b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlí b. Abí Ṭálib. He was born and grew up at al-Madína, and was peerless in his time for courage, cunning and determination, as is strongly emphasized by [Ibn] Ṭabáṭabá al-ʿAlawí in his book called *Ansábu Ashráfi'l-Amṣár* ("Pedigrees of the Nobles of the Lands"). The cause of his insurrection and occupation of Ṭabaristán (f. 45*a*) will be mentioned in due course. One day when he had been bled Abu'l-ʿAmr the poet of Ṭabaristán (شاعر طبری) came before him and recited this verse:

إِذَا كُتِبَتْ يَدُ ٱلْحَجَّامِ سَطْرًا أَتَاكَ بِهَا ٱلْأَمَانُ مِنَ ٱلسَّقَامِ
فَحَسْمُكَ دَاءَ جِسْمِكَ بِٱلْحِجَامِ كَحَسْمِكَ دَاءَ مُلْكِكَ بِٱلْحُسَامِ

For those two couplets the poet received ten thousend *dirhams* [2].

2. *Muḥammad b. Zayd ad-Dáʿí ila 'l-Ḥaqq*, brother of the above. Volumes might be filled with his praises. Sayyid Imám-i-Mufíd Abú Ṭálib relates that he had a learned secretary called Abu'l-Qásim al-Kátib al-Balkhí, noted for his eloquence and excellence, who used to say that this Prince so far excelled all others for whom he had acted as secretary that, to use his own expression, "I could have imagined that it was Muḥammad the Prophet of God dictating one of his revelations." ʿAbdu'l-ʿAzíz al-ʿIjlí [3]) composed in his honour a *qaṣída* in which occurs the following verse:

[1] *Dhahír*, p. 282.

[2] See *Dhahír*, p. 282, where, at the beginning of the second *bayt*, لجسمك stands for كجسمك.

[3] *Dhahír*, p. 296.

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وإذا تبسّم سيفه بكت النساء من القبائل
وإذا تخضّب بالدماء خرجن فى سود الغلائل

and received a gift of 30,000 *dirhams*. When Bakr b. ᶜAbdu'l-ᶜAzíz al-ᶜIjlí, one of the great captains of that time, came before him at Ámul, he alighted from his horse to do him honour, and Muḥammad b. Zayd presented him with a million *dirhams* contained in a hundred bags, besides weapons and other presents. Every year he used to send a thousand[1] gold *dínárs* to the shrines of ᶜAlí, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and other illustrious members of his family; and when the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (A. D. 847—861) destroyed the tombs of the Imáms, he was the first who repaired them.

Anecdote.

One day he was sitting at the Pension Office (*Díwán-i-ᶜAṭá*) and distributing pay to the troops. They brought before him a certain man, of whom he enquired to what tribe he belonged. "ᶜAbdu'sh-Shams," replied the man. "To what family?" asked Muḥammad b. Zayd. The man was silent. "Art thou then of the children of Muᶜáwiya?" he continued (f. 45*b*). The man answered in the affirmative. "By which son?" he further demanded. Again the man was silent. "Art thou then a son of Yazíd?" he asked. "Yes," answered the other. "O lad," said the Dáᶜí, "didst thou not perceive that thou should'st not be with the descendants of Abú Ṭálib?" Instantly the Sayyids there present drew their swords to slay him; but the Dáᶜí cried out at them, saying: "Muṣᶜab b. az-Zubayr was one day sitting distributing money when the herald announced a son of ᶜUmar b. Jurmúz. 'O Amír,' they exclaimed, 'this son of Jurmúz is fearful and afraid because his father slew Zubayr.' 'He is

[1] B. has "thirty thousand".

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a man of great courage,' replied Muṣ'ab, 'since he has risked being slain in retaliation for my father's death. Bid him approach, and take his gift, and depart in peace.' Then he gave him his journey-money and a horse, and sent trusty attendants with him to 'Iráq, lest he should be slain on the way by the descendants of Abú Ṭálib, and dismissed him."

3. *Ḥasan b. 'Alí b. Ḥasan b. 'Alí b. 'Amr b. 'Alí as-Sajjád b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alí b. Abí Ṭálib*, with the title of *an-Náṣiru'l-Kabír*, and the *kunya* of *Abú Muḥammad*. His virtue, learning, asceticism, and piety, and the results of his generosity, are still apparent in Gílán and Daylam, where also his way and doctrine command acceptance. His tomb, the College and Library which he founded, and the endowments bestowed by him, are still flourishing in Ámul, while his grave is accounted holy, and visited by many pilgrims.

إِذَا ذُكِرَتْ أَوْصَافُ أَشْرَافِ هَاشِمٍ فَمَا ذِكْرُهُمْ إِلَّا عَلَى صَدْرِ دَفْتَرِ
لَكُمْ يَا بَنِي ٱلزَّهْرَاءِ زَهْرَ خَصَائِصٍ تَحَيَّرُ فِيهَا فِكْرَةُ ٱلْمُتَفَكِّرِ
أَئِمَّةُ دِينِ ٱللَّهِ أَنْتُمْ وَ قَدْ غَدَا لَكُمْ صَدْرُ مِحْرَابٍ وَ ذِرْوَةُ مِنْبَرِ

He had four sons, *Muḥammad* (from whom he derived his *kunya* of Abú Muḥammad) who died young, *'Alí ash-Sháʿir* ("the Poet"), *Aḥmad Abú'l-Ḥusayn*, and *Ja'far Abú'l-Qásim*. Three of these left issue, and their descendants reigned for a long while in Gílán and Daylam. The genealogy of each will be set forth in the (f. 46*a*) *Kitáb-i-Ansáb*. Aḥmad b. an-Náṣir was of the Imámí sect, and of his sons Abú Ja'far Muḥammad, called *Ṣáḥibu'l-Qalansuwa* ("the Wearer of the Persian hat") dwelt in Daylamán, and Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, called *an-Naqíb*, in Baghdad. Of the sons of 'Alí as-Sháʿir were Abú 'Abdi'lláh Muḥammad al-Uṭrúsh (الاطروش), and Abú 'Alí Muḥammad b Alí ash-Sháʿir, who held a distinguished position at Baghdad. The following verses are by him:

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فَإِنْ كُنْتَ لا تَدْرِي فَتَى أَنْتَ مَيِّتٌ وَ قَبْرَكَ لَا تَدْرِي بِأَيِّ مَكَانِ
فَحَسْبُكَ قَوْلُ النَّاسِ فِيمَا مَلَكْتَهُ لَقَدْ كَانَ هٰذَا مَرَّةً لِفُلَانِ

He was a man of many accomplishments, and has written much poetry, and he was for a long while in the companionship of the Imám al-Ḥasan b. Alí al-ᶜAskarí (the Eleventh Imám of the "Sect of the Twelve", who died A. H. 260), from whom he received instruction. Amongst his disciples were Ibnu'l-Mahdí al-Mámṭírí and Abu'l-ᶜAlá as-Sarwí, of whose accomplishments ath-Thaᶜálibí has spoken in the *Yatímatu'd-Dahr* [1]. The following is a specimen of his powers of repartee:

یکی از مستفیدان بتحسین این دو بیت با دیگری کلمه میگفت از آنکه سید اطروش بود، ندانست چه میگوید، گفت یَا هٰذَا ٱرْفَعْ مِنْ صَوْتِكَ فَإِنَّ بِأُذُنِي بَعْضَ مَا بِرُوحِكَ،

4. *Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Mu'ayyad Bi'lláh ᶜAḍudu'd-Dawla* and *Sayyid Abú Ṭálib Yaḥyá an-Náṭiq bi'l-Ḥaqq*, the sons of al-Ḥusayn b. Hárún b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Qásim b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. al-Imám as-Sibṭ al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlí b. Abí Ṭálib. It is said that not one of the Prophet's descendants who endeavoured by arms to claim his rights was more richly endowed with all the qualities requisite in an Imám than these two brothers. Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḥusayn carried on his propaganda in Daylamán, and all Gíl and Daylam responded to it. His treatise on the Excellence of ᶜAlí b. Abí Ṭálib is so eloquent and so well-reasoned that it might almost be described as a miracle. Of his other writings the best known are the *Kitábu't-Tajríd*, the *Kitábu'sh-Sharḥ*, the *Kitábu'l-Bulgha*, the *Kitábu't-Tabṣira* and the *Kitábu'l-Ifáda*, all of which are still

[1] See the Damascus ed. of that work, Vol. iii, p. 278—282, where some account is given both of al-Uṭrúsh, and of Abu'l-ᶜAlá as-Sarwí.

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in the hands of the Imáms (f. 46*b*) and are eagerly studied by their disciples. The titles of his other less known works are omitted. His poems form a bulky volume. The following verses are his:

وَ قَدْ سَبَكَتْ عِقْيَانَهُ نَارُ مِحْنَةٍ وَ بِٱلسَّبْكِ عِقْيَانُ ٱلرِّجَالِ يُهَذَّبُ

وَ قَدْ شَذَّبَتْهُ ٱلنَّائِبَاتُ وَ إِنَّمَا تَفَرَّعَ غُصْنُ ٱلدَّوْحِ حِينَ يُشَذَّبُ

His early studies were pursued in Baghdad, first with Sayyid Abu'l-ᶜAbbás, and then with the Qáḍi'l-quḍát ᶜAbdu'l-Jabbár al-Hamadání. One night, when every one was asleep, he came to the house of the latter and awakened him to ask him a question on theology. "Did you come only for this?" enquired the Qáḍí. "Yes," he answered, "I thought that I might perchance die to-night, being in doubt as to a matter of religious doctrine." In his time Ibn Sukkara [1] wrote the following *qaṣída* against the descendants of ᶜAlí:

إِنَّ ٱلْخِلَافَةَ مُذْ كَانَتْ وَ مُذْ بَدَأَتْ
مَوْسُومَةٌ بِفَتًى مِنْ آلِ عَبَّاسِ
إِذَا ٱنْقَضَى عُمْرُ هٰذَا قَامَ ذَا خَلَفًا
فَلَاحَتِ ٱلشَّمْسُ وَ ٱمْتَدَّتْ عَلَى ٱلنَّاسِ
فَقُلْ لِمَنْ يَرْتَجِيهَا غَيْرُهُمْ سَفَهًا
لَوْ شِئْتَ رَوَّحْتَ كَرْبَ ٱلظَّنِّ بِٱلْيَاسِ

Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn answered in the following verses:

قُلْ لِٱبْنِ سُكَّرَةٍ يَا بَغْلَ عَبَّاسِ
أَصْحَتْ خِلَافَتُكُمْ مَنْكُوسَةَ ٱلرَّاسِ

[1] Called al-Háshimí, a descendant of ᶜAlí b. al-Mahdí b. Abí Jaᶜfar al-Manṣúr al-ᶜAbbásí. See de Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikán, Vol. iii, pp. 115—118.

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أَمَّا ٱلْمُطِيعُ فَلَا تُخْشَى دَوَائِرُهُ
يَعِيشُ مَا عَاشَ فِي ذُلٍّ وَ إِتْعَاسِ
فَٱلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ حَمْدًا لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ
خَصَّ ٱبْنَ دَاعِي بِنَاجِ ٱلْعِزِّ فِي ٱلنَّاسِ

Ibnu'l-Khayr the Náṣibí [2] answered this in a long *qaṣída* containing this verse:

أَبَى ٱللَّهُ إِلَّا مَا تَرَوْنَ فَمَا لَكُمْ غِضَابًا عَلَى ٱلْأَقْدَارِ يَا آلَ طَالِبِ

The Qáḍí Abu'l-Qásim ʿAlí b. Muḥammad at-Tanúkhí, author of the *Kitábu'l-Faraj baʿda 'sh-Shiddat* (f. 47*a*) replied to this in the following poem:

مِنَ ٱبْنِ رَسُولِ ٱللَّهِ وَ ٱبْنِ وَصِيِّهِ
إِلَى مَدْغَلٍ فِي عُقْدَةِ ٱلدِّينِ نَاصِبِ
نَشَا بَيْنَ طُنْبُورٍ وَ رِقٍّ وَ مِزْهَرٍ
وَ فِي حِجْرِ شَادٍ أَوْ عَلَى صَدْرِ ضَارِبِ
وَ مِنْ ظَهْرِ سَكْرَانٍ إِلَى بَطْنِ قَنْيَةٍ
عَلَى شُبْهَةٍ فِي مَلْكِهَا وَ شَوَائِبِ
يَعِيبُ عَلِيًّا خَيْرَ مَنْ وَطِئَ ٱلْحَصَا
وَ أَكْرَمَ سَارٍ فِي ٱلْأَنَامِ وَ سَارِبِ
وَ يُزْرِي عَلَى ٱلسِّبْطَيْنِ سِبْطَيْ مُحَمَّدٍ
فَقُلْ فِي حَضِيضٍ رَامَ نَيْلَ ٱلْكَوَاكِبِ
نَشَوْا بَيْنَ جِبْرِيلٍ وَ بَيْنَ مُحَمَّدٍ
وَ بَيْنَ عَلِيٍّ خَيْرِ مَاشٍ وَ رَاكِبِ
وَصِيِّ ٱلنَّبِيِّ ٱلْمُصْطَفَى وَ صَفِيِّهِ
وَ مُشْبِهِهِ فِي شِيمَةٍ وَ ضَرَائِبِ

[2] *Náṣibí* is a term of reproach applied by the Shíʿites (or *Ráfiḍís*) to their opponents.

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فَكَمْ مِثْلَ زَيْدٍ قَدْ أَبَادَتْ سُيُوفُكُمْ
بِلَا سَبَبٍ غَيْرِ ٱلظُّنُونِ ٱلْكَوَاذِبِ
أَمَا حَمَلَ ٱلْمَنْصُورُ مِنْ أَرْضِ يَثْرِبٍ
بُدُورَ هُدًى يَجْلُو ظَلَامَ ٱلْغَيَاهِبِ
وَ قَطَّعْتُمْ بِٱلْبَغْيِ قَوْمَ مُحَمَّدٍ
قَرَائِنَ أَرْحَامٍ لَهُ وَ قَرَائِبِ
وَ فِي أَرْضِ بَاحَمْرَا مَصَابِيحُ قَدْ ثَوَتْ
مُتَرَّبَةَ ٱلْهَامَاتِ حُمْرَ ٱلتَّرَائِبِ
وَ غَادَرَ هَادِيكُمْ بِفَخٍّ طَوَائِفًا
يُعَادِلُهُمْ بِٱلْقَاعِ نَقْعُ ٱلنَّوَاعِبِ
وَ هَارُونُكُمْ أَوْحَى بِغَيْرِ جَرِيرَةٍ
نُجُومَ تُقًى مِثْلَ ٱلنُّجُومِ ٱلثَّوَاقِبِ
وَ مَأْمُونُكُمْ سَمَّ ٱلرِّضَا بَعْدَ بَيْعَةٍ
يَوَدُّ ذُرَى شُمِّ ٱلْجِبَالِ ٱلرَّوَاسِبِ
فَهٰذَا جَوَابٌ لِلَّذِي قَالَ مَا لَكُمْ
غِضَابًا عَلَى ٱلْأَقْدَارِ يَا آلَ طَالِبِ .

When Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn had occupied Daylamán and established himself therein, men of learning came from all parts of the world to profit by his conversation, so that he even sent a message to the *Qáḍi'l-quḍát* ʿAbdu'l-Jabbár bidding him swear allegiance to him. The Ḥákim al-Jaysham[1] in his book entitled *Fílá'u'l-Abṣár* relates that he died on Sunday, the day of ʿArafa [*i. e.* the 9th of Dhu'l-Ḥijja], A. H. 421 (= Dec. 8, A. D. 1030), aged seventy years and

[1] Or *Jathim*, *Juthaym*, *Jaytham*, etc. See *H. Kh.*, N°. 4133, where a book named *Fílá'u'l-Abṣár* is mentioned by Abú Saʿíd al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad *al-Chashmí* (or "*Joshemí*"), who is perhaps identical with the author here mentioned.

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odd, and that he was buried on the Monday, the *ʿIdu'l-Aḍḥa* (10th of Dhu'l-Ḥijja) in his home at Lanká, where his tomb is still visible. His doctrine is still (f. 47*b*) followed by the people of that region, and the Ustundár Kay Ká'ús and his descendants, and the people of Daylam generally.

5. *Sayyid an-Náṭiq-bi'l-Ḥaqq Abú Ṭálib Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥusayn aṭ-Ṭâ'ir bi-ta'yídi'lláh* was ten years older than his brother Sayyid Muʿayyad bi'lláh, and was famous alike for his wisdom and his virtues. The father of these two brothers was of the Imámí sect, as were they also originally. This Sayyid received instruction first from Sayyid Abu'l-ʿAbbás, then from the great Imámí teacher Shaykh Abú ʿAbdi'lláh; and imparted it to ʿAbdu'l-Jabbár *Qáḍi'l-quḍát*; and amongst the Zaydís there was no more learned seeker after truth. He taught for several years in the College in Gurgán, where his lectures were much frequented by the learned. Later he went to Daylamán, and when his brother died, allegiance was sworn to him. When he became Imám, Abu'l-Faraj ʿAlí b. al-Ḥusayn wrote to him:

سَرَّ ٱلنُّبُوَّةَ وَ ٱلنَّبِيَّا وَ زَهَا ٱلْوَصِيَّةَ وَ ٱلْوَصِيَّا
أَنَّ ٱلدَّيَالِمَ بَايَعَتْ يَحْيَى بْنَ هَارُونَ ٱلرَّضِيَّا

On his son, who died young, the Sayyid composed the following threnody:

عَلَيْكَ سَلَامُ ٱللَّهِ سَاكِنَ بَلْقَعٍ
فَلَيْسَ إِلَى دَفْعِ ٱلْحِمَامِ سَبِيلُ
وَ لَيْسَ إِلَى غَيْرِ ٱلتَّصَبُّرِ مَفْزَعٌ
وَ إِنْ عَنَّ خَطْبٌ فِي ٱلْمُصَابِ جَلِيلُ
وَ إِنْ كَانَ حُزْنُ ٱلنَّاسِ عِنْدَ إِيَابِهِمْ
قَصِيرًا فَهَا حُزْنِي عَلَيْكَ طَوِيلُ

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وَ إِنْ كُنْتَ تَحْتَ ٱلتُّرْبِ فِي ٱلرَّمْسِ نَازِلًا
فَذِكْرُكَ فِي حَشْوِ ٱلْفُؤَادِ نَزِيلُ
وَ لَوْلَا مَقَالُ ٱلنَّاسِ فَارَقَ حِلْمَهُ
لَشَفَّعَ تَسْكَابَ ٱلدُّمُوعِ عَوِيلُ

Sayyid Abú Ṭálib Yaḥyá was born in A. H. 340 (= A. D. 951—2), and died in A. H. 422 (= A. D. 1031), aged 82, less than a year after his brother. Of his philosophical works the best known are the *Kitábu ʾt-Taḥrír*, the *Commentary* on the *Kitábu ʾl-Mujzí*, and the *Kitábu ʾd-Dimáʿa* (f. 48*a*).

6. *As-Sayyidu ʾl-Imámu ʾl-Faqíhu ʾl-ʿÁlimu ʾl-Mutakallimu ʾsh-Shaʿír al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-ʿAlawí.* His tomb is opposite the College of Zaynu ʾ sh-Sharaf. King Ardashír was induced to repair and renovate it by Sayyid Imám Bahá ʾu ʾd-Dín al-Ḥasan b. Mahdí al-Mámṭírí. He was for many years in religious retirement at the shrine of the Imám ʿAlí b. Músá ar-Riḍá at Mash-had, in praise of which town he composed the following *qaṣída*:

أَبَدْرُ تَمٍّ زَاهِرُ أَمْ نُورُ شَمْسٍ بَاهِرُ
أَمْ غُصْنُ بَانٍ نَاضِرُ يَحَارُ فِيهِ ٱلنَّاظِرُ
أَخَيْزُرَانٌ خَضْرَهَا امْ أُقْحُوَانٌ ثَغْرُهَا
أَمْ جُنْحُ لَيْلٍ شَعْرُهَا أَمْ هِيَ نَوْرٌ زَاهِرُ
فَٱلصُّبْحُ مِنْ غُرَّتِهَا وَ ٱللَّيْلُ مِنْ طُرَّتِهَا
وَ ٱلْمِسْكُ مِنْ نَكْهَتِهَا لَهَا نَسِيمٌ طَاهِرُ
إِذَا مَشَتْ يُقْلِقُهَا لِنَغْمَةٍ قُرْطُقُهَا
يَفْتِنُنِي مَنْطِقُهَا. وَ حِلْشٍ (?) فَوَاتِرُ
كَٱلْبَدْرِ فِي تِمْثَالِهِ وَ ٱلْغُصْنِ فِي ٱعْتِدَالِهِ
فَٱلْقَلْبُ مِنْ خَبَالِهِ لِدَائِهِ مُخَامِرُ

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لَا وَ ٱلَّذِي يَعْلَمُ مَا فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ طُرًّا وَ ٱلسَّمَا
مَا نِلْتُ مِنْهَا مَجْرَمًا كُنْتُ لَهَا أُحَاذِرُ
غَيْرُ حَدِيثٍ وَ نَظَرْ مِنْ غَيْرِ فُحْشٍ وَ وَزَرْ
وَ ٱللَّهُ خَيْرٌ مَنْ غَفَرْ إِذْ هُوَ رَبٌّ غَافِرُ
فَعَدِّ عَنْ تَذْكَارِهَا وَ خَلِّ عَنْ سُمَّارِهَا
إِذْ أَنْتَ بَعْدَ دَارِهَا لِأَرْضِ طُوسٍ زَائِرُ
وَ رُبَّ قَفْرٍ قَدْ فَدٍ تِيهَاءَ ذَاتِ فَرْقَدِ
كَصَارِمٍ مُجَرَّدٍ يَتِيهُ فِيهِ ٱلْمَاهِرُ
قَطَعْتُهَا بِنَاقَةٍ زَيَّافَةٍ خَفَّاقَةٍ
مِفْهَاقَةٍ لَقَّاقَةٍ فِي سَيْرِهَا تُخَاطِرُ
تَسْتَنُّ فِي إِرْقَالِهَا فِي غَيْرِ مَا كَلَالِهَا
تَطْرَبُ فِي تَرْحَالِهَا إِذَا حَدَاهَا ٱلزَّاجِرُ
بِهَا حَدَوْتُ رَاجِلًا مِنْ آمِلٍ وَ نَازِلًا
مَنَازِلًا عَوَاطِلًا يَقْطَعُهَا ٱلْمُسَافِرُ
فَمَا مَطِيرُ قَصْدُهَا حِينَ إِلَيْهَا حَدُّهَا
يَرُوعُ قَلْبِي وَخْدُهَا إِذَا ٱلسَّرَابُ مَائِرُ
يَا صَاحِ حُثَّ ٱلنَّاجِيَهْ أَظُنُّ حَتَّا نَاهِيَهْ
حَتَّى تُوَافِي سَارِيَهْ يَوْمًا وَأَنْتَ بَاكِرُ
ثُمَّ أَعْدُ مِنْهَا بَاكِرًا لِمِهْرَوَانَ ذَاكِرًا
مُقَطِّعًا عَوَاجِرًا مِنْ بَعْدِهَا هَوَاجِرُ
حَتَّى تُوَافِي نامنه برامك من عاينه
يَخَافُ مِنْهَا مَأْمَنَهْ يَذْعَرُ مِنْهُ ٱلذَّاعِرُ
وَ فِي تميش لَا تَقِفْ إِلَّا وُقُوفَ ٱلْمُنْحَرِفْ
ثُمَّ أَعْدُ مِنْهَا وَ ٱنْصَرِفْ وَ ٱنْقَلِبْ مِنْكَ طَائِرُ
يَا صَاحِبَيَّ وَدِّعَا مِنْ أَسْتَرَابَادٍ مَعَا

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وَ لِلرِّبَاطِ فَٱقْطَعَا وَ ٱلرَّبْعَ مِنْهُ دَاثِرُ
وَقِفْ بِحَرْجَانَ فَفِي مَرْبَعِهَا مَا يَشْتَفِي
بِحَظِّهِ وَ يَكْتَفِي وَارِدُهَا وَ ٱلصَّادِرُ
قَدِ ٱغْتَذَتْ أَشْجَارُهَا تُرْضِعُهَا أَنْهَارُهَا
وَ ٱسْتَوْبَقَتْ ثِمَارُهَا وَٱخْضَرَّتِ ٱلدَّسَاكِرُ
أَطْيَارُهَا دَرَّاجُهَا يَطْرِبُنِي تَهْيَاجُهَا
تَذْرَحُهَا هَزَّاجُهَا فَٱلْكُلُّ مِنْهَا صَافِرُ
نَعْهَا وَ عَدِّ قَاصِدًا دِينَارَ زَارٍ زَائِدًا
لِقَصْدِهَا مُجَاهِدًا أَوْسِرْ وَ أَنْتَ شَاكِرُ
قَطَعْتُهَا مُجَاوِزًا لشيراسف (؟) جَاوِزًا
أَخْطُرُ مِنْهَا جَامِزًا فَٱلْوَحْشُ مِنْهَا نَافِرُ
حَتَّى أَتَيْتُ مَعْلَمًا لِاسْفَرَائِينَ مَعَا
قَصَّرْتُ فِي ٱلسَّيْرِ كَمَا قَصَّرَ فِيهِ عَابِرُ
ثُمَّ وَرَدْتُ الْمَعْقِلَ وَ مَأْوُهُ كَٱلْحَنْظَلِ
يَنَالُهُ مِنْ هَزَلٍ تَعَافُهُ ٱلْجَآذِرُ

He was commonly called Sayyid Abu'l-Qásim; and it is related that "the Great Náṣir" (ناصر كبير), that most accomplished and eloquent scholar, used to say, "Were it lawful to repeat the verses of anyone in one's prayers, it would assuredly be the verses of Abu'l-Qásim!"

7. *As-Sayyid Shamsu Áli Rasúli'lláh.* He was a dervish, skilled in the traditions, and of ascetic and devout life. His tomb still stands outside the Gate, in the ʿAwámma-kúy quarter (بدر دروازه بمحلّهٔ عوامه كوى). Other learned Sayyids (? descendants of the above) contemporary with the author were: Sayyid Dhahíru'd-Dín *Nassába* of Gurgán, whose skill in scholastic theology and jurisprudence are recognized by all; Sayyid Ruknu'd-Dín of Sárí; and his learned and vir-

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tuous brother Sayyid Sharafu'd-Dín, whose tomb is in the College of Sayyid Imám Khaṭíb, opposite Mashhad-i-Sar, and who did much to check the Zaydí and propagate the Imámí doctrines in those districts.

8. *As-Sayyidu'l-Imám Abú Ṭálib ath-Thá'ir.* He was one of five brothers, whose grandfather was called "Ḥusayn the Poet" (حسين الشاعر). His brother was "the Great Náṣir", and his father was known as Muḥammad al-Fáris. *Náṣir-i-Kabír*'s daughter had a servant named ʿUmayr, and after the men of Gíl and Daylam had taken Ṭabaristán from the Sayyids, this servant also revolted, went to Gílán, and gave over all his master's property to be plundered. The men of Gílán rallied round him and forsook the Sayyid, who expressed his feelings in the following verses:

يَـا آلَ يَسٓ أَمْـرُكُـمْ عَـجَـبٌ بَيْنَ ٱلْوَرَى قَدْ جَرَتْ مَقَادِيرُهْ
لَمْ يَكْفِكُمْ فِى حِجَازِكُمْ عُمَرٌ حَتَّى بِجِيلَانَ جَآءَ تَصْغِيرُهْ

Rulers of the House of Báwand.

This section opens with a glowing panegyric on this noble family, whose court is described, in very florid language, as an ever-open refuge to the distressed and the unfortunate.

1. *The Ispahbad ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla ʿAlí b. Shahriyár b. Qárin.* His virtues, his doughty deeds, and how he secured the kingdom to himself in spite of jealous brothers and kinsmen will be mentioned subsequently. Amongst those who took refuge at his court were the following. *Shírzád* [1], son of Sulṭán Masʿúd (III) of Ghazna, who for a while shared the throne of Ghazna with Bahrámsháh (his brother). When he expressed a desire to perform the Pilgrimage to Mecca,

[1] See Lane-Poole's *Muḥammadan Dynasties*, pp. 289 and 290. He reigned A. H. 508—509 (= A. D. 1114—1115).

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the *Ispahbad* arranged his journey and supplied all that he needed day by day at every stage. After his return he was enabled to proceed once more to Ghazna.

Sulṭán Masʿúd b. Muḥammad the Seljúq, nephew of Sinjar, twice took refuge with the *Ispahbad*; first, when the Caliph [al-Mustarshid] was assassinated [A. H. 529 = A. D. 1135] he came thither with his son; secondly, when he quarrelled with Ṭughril, he brought his women-folk thither, and placed them in the hamlet of Áram (آرم) in the palace of the *Ispahbad*'s son Sháh-i-Ghází Rustam, while he himself received help to enable him to return to ʿIráq.

When Muḥammad b. Maliksháh died, all his sons took the oath of allegiance to Maḥmúd, and when he died they fell to fighting with one another, and Ṭughril, being defeated, fled to his [the *Ispahbad*'s] house. At the Pass (*Darband*) of Kilís he was stopped by ʿAlí b. Zarrín-Kamar, and his two brothers Muḥammad and Abú Shujáʿ. He told then that he was flying from pursuing foes, but they told him that without the King's permission he could not advance. When news of this was sent to Sháh-i-Ghazí Rustam, he at once rode out as far as the village of Maqṣúra, brought in Ṭughril, and sent him to Sárí to his father the *Ispahbad*.

Khwárazmsháh-i-Saʿíd Muḥammad had four sons, who, on his death, fell to quarrelling, and two of them fled to the *Ispahbad*, who heaped such favours upon them that men still talk of his bounty.

The *Amír ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán Ṭugha-Turk* (طغاترك) *the Atábek* came to his court from Ardabíl with a number of his retainers, and was hospitably entertained and then sent back along the coast to his kingdom. ʿImádí the poet, who was the panegyrist of this Atábek, speaks of him as follows:

عبد الرّحمن که گر بخواهد[1] از هفت سپهر شش بکاهد

[1] MS. بخواهد, which must, I think, be wrong.

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The *Amír of Ḥilla*, the son of Ṣadaqa "King of the Arabs", one of the most puissant, noble, generous and high-minded princes of the world, accompanied by 200 of his mounted retainers, took refuge with the *Ispahbad*, who on the first day of his arrival sent him a present consisting of 200 caparisoned horses, 300 coats and caps (قبا وكلاه), 100 girdles, swords, coats of mail, helmets, and suits of horse-armour, and 10,000 gold *dínárs*. On another occasion Baraka (بركه), the brother of the above-mentioned *Amír*, came to beg the *Ispahbad* to intercede for him with the Caliph, whom he had offended. The *Ispahbad* did so, obtained for him a written pardon and assurance of safety, and supplied him with money and other necessaries to take him back to his kingdom.

When Qatírmish (قتيرمش) rebelled against the Sulṭán, he confided his brothers, children and women-folk to the *Ispahbad*'s care; they received from him the utmost kindness and attention, and, when it was safe, were sent back to their home.

2. *The Ispahbad Nuṣratu'd-Dín Rustam*, son of the above. He was, according to the author, the greatest ruler of Ṭabaristán since the time of Ferídún and Minúchihr, and the greatest possessor of treasures since Khusraw Parwíz. His power extended from Jájarm, Gurgán, Bisṭám and Dámghán to Múqán. He was the first of this House to sit on a throne at his receptions. Even in the author's time there remained forty castles filled with the gold and jewels and other precious things which he had amassed. When Kayká'ús Ustundár, with the approval of his chief judge, revolted against him, he marched to Rúyán to meet him, devastating and setting fire to the whole country. On this the Ispahbad Khurshíd b. Abu'l-Qásim Mámṭírí composed the following verses in the dialect of Ṭabaristán [1]:

[1] Variants: B. لاس before تدبير; C. بوجن for بسوجن; B. اونى كى;

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تدبیر کرده کاری کی کوشك بسوجن
اون که شیء کوشك بر بدو تا بلوجن
نون کشور بوین سوجن کهون اروجن
تدبیر کرده کاری دیر هار موجن

After the death of Sinjar, his nephew Sulaymán Sháh fled from Maḥmúd Khán, the successor of Sinjar and his sister's son, and took refuge with the Ispahbad Rustam while he made preparations for attempting to recover ʿIráq. During the two months that he spent there, he and his followers were entertained daily at tables set in the Maydán-i-Tápán, till he had collected 20,000 man of Gílán, Daylamán and other parts of Ṭabaristán. The *Ispahbad* further supplied him with the necessary arms, stores and munitions of war, brought him to Ray, and set him on the throne. The *amírs* of ʿIráq and Ádharbayján gathered round him, and Ray and Sáwa were surrendered to the *Ispahbad*. When Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán learned his absence from Ṭabaristán, he marched thither with all Sinjar's *amírs*. In two days the *Ispahbad* hastened thither from Ray, and encamped at the hamlet of Kúsán at the foot of the Castle of Áb-Dara; and one night gave permission to king Qárin (پادشاه قارن) to attack the Turks with 400 *ghuláms* and 500 men of Bá-wand. These penetrated to Sulṭán Maḥmúd's quarters, inflicting considerable losses on the Seljúq troops. Next day Maḥmúd sent his kinsman Muʾayyid Áyi Ába to attack and plunder Sárí. The *Ispahbad* sent his son Ḥasan Sharafuʾl-Mulúk by way of Lákash-i-Mihrawán to lie in ambush for the raiders, who fell into the ambush. A thousand Turks, including a kinsman of Sulṭán Maḥmúd, were taken captive, while Muʾayyid, with a few followers, succeeded in effecting

A. om. [کوشك]; C. بربدد; B. اوروجن; A. om. [کرده], B. substitutes ٥; C. مار for هار.

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his escape. The *Ispahbad* treated the prisoners kindly, bestowed on them robes of honour, and sent them to Maḥmúd Khán with the following message: "Our people are independent house-holders, and what they do is done without our sanction." Mahmúd than sent one of his chief nobles, ʿAzíz-i-Ṭughrá'í, to the Ispahbad, and it was agreed that in consideration of the sum of 20,000 *dinárs* the Sulṭán should withdraw to Gurgán, and that the Ispahbad should pay over this sum to the tithe-collectors (*muḥaṣṣilán*). When Maḥmúd had retired to Gurgán, the Ispahbad drove away the collectors, bidding them say to their master, "We gave up the money for [fear of] their maces"

بروید و اورا بگوئید ما زر بزوبین دادیم،

The trouble which at this juncture broke out in Khurásán prevented Sulṭán Maḥmúd from taking any further steps; and he was nick-named in Ṭabaristán "Maḥmúd the Wheat-crusher" (*gandum-kúb*), because his soldiers, finding no bread, used to cut and crush the ears of wheat which they found, and eat them.

Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwáṭ, the Court-poet and secretary of Atsiz Khwárazm-sháh, composed many *qaṣídas* in praise of the Ispahbad, who in return used each year to send him 500 *dinárs*, a turban and coat (*jubba*), and a fully caparisoned horse. He composed the following *qaṣída* on the occasion when the Ispahbad went to Ray and seated Sulaymán Sháh on the throne:

جَلَالُكَ بَادٍ فِي خُرَاسَانَ بَاهِرٌ وَ ذِكْرُكَ سَارٍ فِي ٱلْعِرَاقَيْنِ سَائِرُ
وَأَنْتَ حُسَامُ ٱلدِّينِ فِي نُصْرَةِ ٱلْهُدَى حُسَامٌ إِذَا كَلَّ ٱلْبَوَاتِرُ بَاتِرُ
غَدَا ٱلرَّيُّ وَ ٱلْأَكْبَادُ فِيهَا جَرِيحَةٌ لِفَقْدِكَ وَ ٱلْأَجْفَانُ فِيهَا سَوَاهِرُ
تَفَرَّقَ مِنْ بَعْدِ ٱلتَّجَمُّعِ شَمْلُهَا وَ دَارَتْ عَلَيْهَا بِٱلْبَلَايَا ٱلدَّوَائِرُ
فَمَا قَائِلٌ إِلَّا لِتَقْوَاكَ ذَاكِرٌ وَ لَا سَائِلٌ إِلَّا لِجَدْوَاكَ شَاكِرُ

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أَيَا مَلِكًا رَحْبُ ٱلْقُصُورِ عُرَاعِرًا ... لِسَانُ ٱللَّيَالِي عَنْ مَسَاعِيكَ قَاصِرُ
جَلَالُكَ فِي أَعْلَى ٱلسَّمَوَاتِ صَاعِدٌ ... وَ صِيتُكَ فِي أَقْصَى ٱلْأَقَالِيمِ سَائِرُ
أَيَا مَالِكًا لِلْأَمْرِ وَ ٱلنَّهْيِ فِي ٱلْهُدَى ... فَمَا مِثْلُهُ فِي ٱلنَّاسِ نَاهٍ وَ آمِرُ
مُحَيَّاكَ بَدْرٌ فِي ٱلْغَيَاهِبِ زَاهِرٌ ... وَ يُمْنَاكَ بَحْرٌ فِي ٱلْمَوَاهِبِ زَاخِرُ
وَ أَنْتَ إِلَى دَفْعِ ٱلْمُلِمَّاتِ مَائِلٌ ... وَأَنْتَ إِلَى رَفْعِ ٱلْمُهِمَّاتِ قَادِرُ
فَمَا لِبِلَادِ ٱللَّهِ غَيْرُكَ حَافِظٌ ... وَ لَا لِعِبَادِ ٱللَّهِ غَيْرُكَ نَاصِرُ
أَمَا لَهُمْ مِنْ مَشْرَعِ ٱلْغَيِّ حَاجِزٌ ... أَمَا لَهُمْ عَنْ مَصْرَعِ ٱلْبَغْيِ حَاجِرُ
أَمَا لَهُمْ عَنْ مَكْسَبِ ٱلْإِثْمِ وَازِعٌ ... أَمَا لَهُمْ عَنْ مَوْكَبِ ٱلظُّلْمِ زَاجِرُ
تَمَتَّعْ بِمَدْحِي فَهْوَ أَكْرَمُ مَفْخَرٍ ... إِذَا عُدِّدَتْ لِلْأَكْرَمِينَ ٱلْمَفَاخِرُ
أَلَا إِنَّنِي فِي مَدْحِ غَيْرِكَ شَاعِرٌ ... وَ لٰكِنَّنِي فِي مَدْحِ صَدْرِكَ سَاحِرُ
فَعِشْ سَالِمًا مَا حَرَّرَ ٱلنَّثْرَ كَاتِبٌ ... وَ دُمْ غَانِمًا مَا حَرَّرَ ٱلنَّظْمَ شَاعِرُ

On another occasion, when the Ispahbad went to Ray, set his own governor over it, and held it for a year and a half, Rashíd-i-Waṭwáṭ composed and sent to him the following poem:

جَبِينُكَ كَٱلْبَدْرِ ٱلْمُضِيءِ يَلُوحُ ... وَ خُلْقُكَ كَٱلْمِسْكِ ٱلذَّكِيِّ يَفُوحُ
وَ نَائِلُكَ ٱلْفَيَّاضُ تَغْدُو غُيُومُهُ ... بِنَقْعِ غَلِيلِ ٱلْمُعْتَفِي وَ تَرُوحُ
لَكَ ٱلرَّايَةُ ٱلزَّهْرَاءُ فِي كُلِّ وَقْعَةٍ ... بِهَا لِجُيُوشِ ٱلْمُسْلِمِينَ فُتُوحُ
لَهَا أَلْسُنٌ فِي ٱلْجَوِّ مِنْ عَذَبَاتِهَا ... صِفَاحٌ بِأَسْرَارِ ٱلْكِفَاحِ تَبُوحُ
فَقَلْبُكَ حَدَّ ٱلظُّلْمِ وَ هُوَ مُذَرَّبٌ ... وَ ذَٰلِكَ صَعْبُ ٱلْكُفْرِ وَ هُوَ جَمُوحُ
فَكَم لِلْعُلَى يَا آلَ قَارَنَ سُورَةٌ ... بَنَاهَا عَلَى رَغْمِ ٱلْمَعَاطِسِ نُوحُ
فَأَفْعَالُكُمْ لِلْمُعْضِلَاتِ دَوَافِعٌ ... وَ أَقْوَالُكُمْ لِلْمُشْكِلَاتِ شُرُوحُ
بِأَيْمَانِكُمْ يَوْمَ ٱلصَّبَاحِ صَوَارِمٌ ... لَهَا مِنْ دِمَاءِ ٱلدَّارِعِينَ صَبُوحُ
لِجُنْدِكَ فِي أَرْضِ ٱلْعِرَاقِ وَقَائِعٌ ... بِهِنَّ شَيَاطِينُ ٱلْقِرَاعِ تَطُوحُ
فَكَمْ مِنْ نُفُوسٍ بِٱلْعَرَاءِ ضَرِيحَةٌ ... عَلَيْهِنَّ رَبَّاتُ ٱلْحِجَالِ تَنُوحُ

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فَلَا بَلَدٌ إِلَّا وَ فِيهِ زَلَازِلُ وَ لَا خَلَدٌ إِلَّا وَ فِيهِ قُرُوحُ
بَقِيتَ مَدَى ٱلْأَيَّامِ فِي عِزِّ أَنْعُمٍ عَلَيْهِنَّ أَنْوَارُ ٱلدَّوَامِ تَلُوحُ

The following verses are from a *qaṣída* which the same poet composed in honour of the Ispahbad when he took the Castles of Mihrín and Manʿúr-kùh (منعور کوه) from the Assassins:

أَيَا مَنْ إِلَى نَادِيهِ تَأْوِي ٱلْأَمَاجِدُ لِآرَائِهِ شُهْبُ ٱلذَّيَاجِي سَوَاجِدُ
وَ يَا مَنْ يَلُوذُ ٱلْأَكْرَمُونَ بِظِلِّهِ إِذَا أَشْعَلَتْ نِيرَانَهُنَّ ٱلشَّدَائِدُ
أَلَا إِنَّهُ فِي ٱلْعِلْمِ إِنْ حُدَّ عَالَمٌ وَ لٰكِنَّهُ بِٱلْجِسْمِ إِنْ عُدَّ وَاحِدُ
أَيَا نُصْرَةَ ٱلدِّينِ ٱلَّذِي عَقَوَاتُهُ بِهَا نُصِبَتْ لِلنَّازِلِينَ ٱلْمَوَائِدُ
فَأَطْرَافُهَا لِلرَّاهِبِينَ مَعَاقِلٌ وَ أَكْنَافُهَا لِلرَّاغِبِينَ مَعَاهِدُ
لِسَانُكَ لَا يُجْرِي عَلَى عَذَبَاتِهِ سِوَى كَلِمَاتٍ كُلُّهُنَّ فَوَائِدُ
فَهُنَّ لِآفَاقِ ٱلْمَعَالِي كَوَاكِبٌ وَ هُنَّ لِأَعْنَاقِ ٱلْمَعَانِي قَلَائِدُ
بَلَغْتَ مِنَ ٱلْعَلْيَاءِ مَنْزِلَةً نَهَا زَوَاعِرُ أَجْرَامِ ٱلسَّمَاءِ حَوَاسِدُ
حَرَبْتَ عَلَى رَغْمِ ٱلْأُنُوفِ مِنَ ٱلْعِدَا مَحَامِدَ تُفْنِي ٱلذِّكْرَ وَ هِيَ خَوَالِدُ
فَتَجْتَهِدُ وَ ٱلْأَبْدَانُ مِنْهُمْ فَوَارِغٌ وَ تَسْهَرُ وَ ٱلْأَجْفَانُ مِنْهُمْ رَوَاقِدُ
وَ كَيْفَ يُسَاوِيكَ ٱلْعِدَى ثُلَّ عَرْشُهُمْ وَ هَلْ يَتَسَاوَى قَاعِدٌ وَ مُجَاهِدُ
بِعَهْدِكُمْ يَا آلَ قَارَنَ أَصْبَحَتْ مُمَهَّدَةً لِلْمَكْرُمَاتِ ٱلْقَوَاعِدُ
فَمِنْهَلُكُمْ عَذْبٌ لِمَنْ هُوَ وَارِدٌ وَ مَنْزِلُكُمْ رَحْبٌ لِمَنْ هُوَ وَافِدُ
فَمِنْكُمْ جِبَالُ ٱلْبَاقِيَاتِ رَوَاسِخٌ وَ مِنْكُمْ رِيَاحُ ٱلْفَانِيَاتِ رَوَاكِدُ
وَ هِمَّتُكُمْ جَرْدَاءُ نَهْدٌ لَدَى ٱلْوَغَى وَ هِمَّةُ أَثْلِ ٱلْعَصْرِ غَيْدَاءُ نَاهِدُ
فَأَنْتَ لَهَا فِي نُصْرَةِ ٱلشَّرْعِ شَاعِرٌ وَأَنْتَ لَهَا فِي هَامَةِ ٱلشِّرْكِ غَامِدُ
سُيُوفُكَ زِيدَتْ حِدَّةً ضَرَبَاتُهَا مُؤَكَّدَةٌ لِلدِّينِ مِنْهَا ٱلْمَعَاقِدُ
بَقِيتَ رَضِيَّ ٱلْخَالِ مَا لَاحَ بَارِقٌ وَ دُمْتَ رَخِيَّ ٱلْبَالِ مَا صَاحَ رَاعِدُ

The author says that, through many Arabic-writing poets

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have praised the House of Báwand, he has only cited Rashíd-i-Waṭwáṭ because he was the greatest and most famous of their panegyrists, and because his own eulogies would be discounted by reason of his connection with the Dynasty, and the country over which it ruled.

One of the customs of the Ispahbad Rustam was that at the close of a wine-bout he would give permission to his boon-companions to take what they liked from his treasury. On one such occasion his kinsman the Amír Sábiqu'd-Dawla ʿAlí Gílkhwárán, ʿAlí Riḍá the chamberlain (وکیل دری) and his sons, Asʿadu'd-Dín Ḥusayn "the madman" (*díwána*), the Nidhám Muḥammad and the Qiwám Farámarz went together, when they rose up from drinking, to the treasury, but found that all the money and jewels and most precious things had been already taken, and that only some bundles (رزمه) of silk were left. So each of them took three bundles of silk on their backs and twisted the contents of another round their feet. Being thus heavily laden, certain wits likened them to asses carrying bales of merchandise, and Bárbad-i-Jarídí, the Ṭabarí poet, extemporized the following couplet over them in the dialect of Ṭabaristán:

این دو خر که دارنه پادشاه ابرون یکی خر بزین نیکه یکی بپالون

Another of the Ispahbad's customs was that he would not suffer poets to recite his praises in his presence, saying, "They falsely ascribe to me deeds which I never performed, and thereby I am put to shame." At length a poet named Mudhaffarí came from Khurásán and said, "I will praise you for deeds that you have done," and he than recited a poem beginning:

جنّت عدنست گوئی کشور مازندران
در حریم حرمت اصفهبد اصفهبدان

For each couplet he was rewarded with ten gold *dínárs*, and he also received a horse, a coat (قبا) and a hat (کلاه).

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3. *The Ispahbad Tájuʾl-Mulúk ʿAlí b. Mardáwíj.*

He was sent by his father to Merv in the reign of Sinjar, who gave him his sister in marriage, and held him so dear that he would not go forth from his palace until he had first seen him. On his father's death, he was made ruler of the Castle of Jahína and the country round about Tammísha (بیرون تمیشه). On the death of Sinjar, Sulaymán Sháh, who succeeded to the Seljúq throne, first took refuge with him.

Mardáwíj was one of the hardest and most expert riders ever seen. He would sometimes, on mounting, put a gold coin between each foot and the stirrup and gallop till midday without letting either slip out. One day when he and Sulaymán Sháh were encamped together at Gulpáyagán, there was a wager between them, the former betting a certain Arab horse, 4000 royal *dinárs*, and 100 silken garments, etc., against a favourite slave belonging to the latter. Mardáwíj won the wager, but at once sent back the slave-boy mounted on the Arab horse fully caparisoned, and accompanied by two other slaves. The great poet Anwarí composed in his praise, besides other poems, the *qaṣída* beginning:

ای در نَبَرْد حَیْدَرِ کـرّارِ روزگار تاج المُلوك صفـدرِ صفـدارِ روزگـار

In the service of Sulṭán Masʿúd the Seljúq was a certain champion called Sábiq of Qazwín, whose fame had spread throughout ʿIráq, Arabia and Khurásán. Him the Ispahbad induced to enter his service, giving him Bisṭám, Dámghán and Jájarm in order that he might combat the Assassins. This Sábiq was very prodigal, and on one occasion he wrote to the Ispahbad complaining that he lacked money to pay his troops. The Ispahbad turned to his nobles and said, "He is an ocean (in munifence): what adequate gift can one confer on the ocean? Let 20,000 *dinárs* be now

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sent to him, and let an order be written that henceforth all that he can conquer in those regions shall be his, together with the fief-holds there."

4. *The Ispahbad ʿAláʿu'd-Dawla Ḥasan b. Rustam b. ʿAlí.* He also was a man whose generosity and statesmanship "had transcended perfection by several parasangs." His only fault was that he was too impetuous and self-confident, which qualities brought disaster both on him and his subjects. Yet:

كَفَى ٱلْمَرْءَ فَضْلًا أَنْ تُعَدَّ مَعَائِبُهْ

When Il-Arslán Khwárazmsháh died (A. H. 568 = A. D. 1172), and his son Tukush wrested the throne of Khwárazm from his brother Sulṭán Sháh Maḥmúd, the latter with his mother took refuge with the Ispahbad, who came to Tammísha to meet them, and sent forward his governors and officers from Gílán and the districts of Ray with presents, while in the plain of Ganjína, as far as Ispíd Dáristán, for a distance of a parasang, he caused such a feast to be spread as no man ever saw before or since.

5. *The Ispahbad Ḥusámu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín Ardashír b. Ḥusayn*[1]. He reigned for 35 years over Ṭabaristán. — Eulogy of his virtues and talents.

After the death of the Atábek Muḥammad b. Ilduguz, Sulṭán Ṭughril (II) b. Arslán, in consequence of a dispute which arose between him and his brother Qizil Arslán, wrote from ʿIráq:

إِذَا غَلَقَتْ أَبْوَابُ قَوْمٍ أَرَاذِلٍ فَبَابُكَ مَفْتُوحٌ وَ لَيْسَ بِمُرْتَجِ
وَ هَمُّكَ مَقْصُورٌ عَلَى طَلَبِ ٱلْعُلَى وَ سيبك(؟) موقوف[2] على كُلِّ مُرْتَجِ

The Ispahbad, in response to this appeal, being encamped at Dih-i-Fulúl in Láriján, sent out his *amírs* and nobles to

[1] Lower, "*Ḥasan*", which seems to be correct.

[2] A. B. مرفوع.

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Ray to meet the Seljúq king, and himself went forward to Lár, where, on meeting him, he alighted from his horse, brought his royal guest to Fulúl, and there enthroned and entertained him royally. Qizil Arslán, hearing of this, sent ʿIzzu'd-Dín Yaḥyá to Ardashír to persuade him, by reminding him of the favours which he had formerly received from his father and brother, to arrest and bind Ṭughril and surrender him to his antagonist, promising the Ispahbad in return for this service the rule of Ray, Sáwa, Qum, Káshán and Qazwín, and full authority over ʿIráq and Ádharbayján. The Ispahbad indignantly rejected the proposal that he should betray his guest, and after a while sent Ṭughril to Dámghán and Bisṭám, bidding his officers there supply all his needs day by day until he reached his capital.

In A. H. 579 (= A. D. 1183—4) an ambassador named Khujand (?), with two companions, came from the Maharája of India to the Ispahbad, stating that an ʿAlawí of the Imámí (Shíʿite) sect had come to that country to endeavour to persuade men to his views, and had prevailed in argument against their doctors; whereupon the Maharája had despatched a letter to "the just and upright king in Ṭabaristán, who is descended from the Kisrás (House of Sásán), and who holds this doctrine" with an embassy of 40 persons, of whom 38 had perished on the way. At the command of the Ispahbad, the answer to this letter was written at great length by Sayyid Bahá'u'd-Dín al-Ḥasan b. al-Mahdí al-Mámṭírí, who was living at this time. A long extract from this letter, written in very florid Arabic, and celebrating the praises of Ṭabaristán and its ruler Ardashír, here follows. Indeed it seems to have been not so much a letter as a tract, bearing the formal title *Risálatu'l-Hunúd fí ijábati daʿwa dhawi 'l-ʿAnúd* ("the Epistle to the Indians in reply to the pretensions of the obdurate").

On one occasion Núru'd-Dín Ṣabbágh came to the Ispah-

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bad as an ambassador from Tukush b. Il-Arslán at Dawlat-ábád near Sárí, (f. 56*b*) and there he caused a pulpit to be erected and preached a sermon, concluding with the following verse:

دیدم همهرا وهست بالله جز بر تو حرام نام شاهی

Indeed, says the author, there was never a more law-abiding (بآئین‌تر) king than he. His capital was at Sárí, where dwelt his ministers, and where was situated their *díwán*, called the *Díwán-i-Waṣl*. Every year he used to disburse in pensions more than 100,000 gold *dínárs*, and every Friday, wherever he might be, he used to give 100 *dínárs* out of the palace treasury to the Minister of Justice (امیر العدل), who used then to go to the public square (*maydán*) and distribute the money amongst the most deserving persons whom he found waiting there. Sayyids, men of learning, poets and literary men used to flock to his court with books, poems and prayers which they desired to lay before him; and amongst the most distinguished men who were his pensioners were Sayyid ʿIzzu'd-Dín Yaḥyá, the judges (قضاة) of Ray, and the Shaykhu'l-Islám Ruknu'd-Dín هجانی (?), each of whom used to receive 700 *dínárs*, a fully caparisoned horse, a turban and a cloak (*jubba*), Khwája Imám Faqíh-i-Ál-i-Muḥammad Abu'l-Faḍl Ráwandí, Sayyid Murtaḍá Káshání, Afḍalu'd-Dín Máhabádí, the judges of Iṣfahán, the family of the poet Shafarwuh, and all the Sayyids of Qazwín, Abhar and the districts round Kharaqán. From Egypt, Syria and Arabia also two or three thousand ʿAlawís used to come yearly to pass the winter in Ṭabaristán, where they received free entertainment, clothes and money for their expenses. When the Ispahbad rode out, these ʿAlawís marched beside him in ranks, and whatever boon any one of them craved was granted to him, the Ispahbad saying, "In all the world these have no other door than this court;

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give them therefore what they need." On one occasion he gave a sum of 29,000 *dínárs* of Ámul from his treasury to enable poor ᶜAlawís of both sexes to marry. Every year at the season of the Pilgrimage, also, he used to disburse the following sums:

For "water-money" (آب سبیل), 4000 *dínárs*; and his standard was carried side by side with that of the Caliph, while the standards of all the other kings and rulers of the time followed behind.

For the *Amíruʾl-Ḥajj*, or Leader of the Pilgrimage, 2000 *dínárs* and a fully caparisoned horse, in substitution for the tax which they used to levy on the pilgrims; and a herald used to proclaim. "All the pilgrims are the freed men of the King of Mázandarán."

For the Shrine (*mashhad*) of Sámarra, or *Surra man raʾa*, 500 *dínárs*.

For the Shrine of ᶜAbduʾl-ᶜAdhim in Ray, 200 *dínárs*.

For the Graves of Quraysh, 300 *dínárs*.

For the Shrines of the sons of the Imám Ḥasan at Madáʾin, 200 *dínárs* [1].

For the Shrine of ᶜAlí b. Abí Ṭálib, 2000 *dínárs*.

For the Shrine of Salmán the Persian at al-Madáʾin, 150 *dínárs*.

For the Shrine of Imám Ḥusayn at Kerbelá, 6000 *dínárs*.

For the Shrine of Abuʾl-Ḥasan ᶜAlí b. Músa al-Báqir (*sic*), 1000 *dínárs* [2].

For the Amírs of Mecca, 200 *dínárs* for turbans and cloaks.

For the Shrine of the Kaᶜba and the water-carriers (سدنهٔ کعبه و سقّا), 1000 *dínárs*.

For the pigeons of Mecca, the produce of a village, mill and hot bath.

[1] Inserted in B.

[2] Omitted in B.

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(کبوتران مکّه ده و گرمابه و آسیا وقف بود محصول میفرستاد)

For the poor of Mecca, 5 bales (رزمه) of silk.

For al-Madína, 3000 *dínárs*.

For the Shrines of the Imáms buried at al-Baqí', 1000 *dínárs*.

For the poor of al-Madína, the value of 5 bales (رزمه) of silk. These bales were sold in Baghdad, and the money thus obtained was spent on linen (کرباس), which was divided amongst the poor.

The most eminent of contemporary poets, Dhahíru'd-Dín Fáryábí, has many *qaṣídas* in praise of this Ispahbad, amongst them the following:

سپیده دم که هوا مژدهٔ بهار دهد
دم هوا مدد نافهٔ تتار دهد
دل مرا که فراموش کرد عهد وصال
نسیم باد صبا بوی زلف یار دهد
زآب دیده بموجی فتاده ام که بجهد
خیالرا سوی بالین من گذار دهد
زدست نا خوشی آنکس رهاندم کآندم
بدست من می صافیٔ خوشگوار دهد
حسام دولت و دین آنکه در مقام نبرد
قرار ملك بشمشیر بیقرار دهد
ستوده خسرو عالم که خاك درگه او
سپهر سر زدهرا تاج افتخار دهد
سپهر خرقه در اندازد از طرب چو بحرب
زبان خنجر او شرح کارزار دهد
ایا شهی که یمینت بگاه بخشش و جود
بکان و دریا سرمایهٔ یسار دهد

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حمایت تو شب تیره‌را اگر خواهد
ز زخم خنجر خورشید زینهار دهد
بخفت بخت حسودت چنانکه پنداری
زمانه روز و شبش کوک و کوکنار دهد
سریر ملک عطا داد کردگار ترا
بجای خویش بود هرچه کردگار دهد
در آن زمان که بد اندیش روز کورت‌را
قضا بمیل سنان اغبر غبار دهد
سپاه بی عددت بیم آن بود آنروز
که هفت قلعهٔ افلاک‌را حصار دهد
عروس ملک کسی در کنار گیرد تنگ
که بوسه بر لب شمشیر آبدار دهد
ز صد دلیر یکی باشد آنکه توفیقش
حسام قاطع و بازوی کامکار دهد
اگر پناه امل منهدم شود یزدان
ز حفظ خویش ترا حصن استوار دهد
عدوت مثل تو آنگه شود که خنجر بید
بروز معرکه آثار ذو الفقار دهد
همیشه تاکه مرین چرخ بد معاملهرا
برای دار فنا مهلت مدار دهد
تو پایدار بمان ز آنکه جای آن داری
که کردگار ترا عمر پایدار دهد

After the poet had been for some time at the Ispahbad's court, and had received at his hands many favours, he asked and received permission to visit the Atábek Qizil Arslán, son of the Atábek Ílduguz, who was at that time

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in possession of ʿIráq and Ádharbayján. There he composed a *qaṣída* in which occurred the following verse:

شاید که بعد خدمت ده ساله در عراق
نانم هنوز خسرو مازندران دهد

(f. 58*a*) Some of the servants of the Ispahbad Ardashír were present when this poem was recited before Qizil Arslán, and they sent a copy of it to their master, who thereupon sent the poet 100 *dínárs*, a fully caparisoned horse, a necklace, a cap and a coat.

Nobles and notables of Ṭabaristán.

1. *ʿAbdu'lláh al-Ḥusayn b. Sahl*, known as *Tájí Duwayr* (المعروف بتاجی دُوَيْر). His yearly income was 200,000 *dínárs*. One night at Ámul some of the courtiers and boon-companions of the Ispahbad came to visit him, and he bestowed on them 500 silken garments, and wrote them a cheque for 20,000 *dínárs*:

بیست هزار دینار بر املاك چك نوشت

One day his master the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán went out hunting, and was beset by a number of petitioners (متظلّمان), of whom he asked, "whom do ye seek?" Being answered that they sought the Ispahbad in order to lay their needs before him, he said: "If ye seek the Ispahbad who is king and ruler, and who has wealth, servants, retinue, pomp, glory and a merry life (عیش خوش), then it is Tájí Duwayr at Ámul; but if you seek that one who night and day is with his falcons, his cheetahs and his dogs, then it is I."

2. *Abú Isḥáq Ibráhím b. al-Marzubán* constructed, out of his own income, most of the roads and bridges of Ṭabaristán and Rúyán.

3. *Muḥammad b. Músá b. Ḥafṣ*. The daily expenditure of his kitchen at Ámul was 1000 *dínárs*, and at his own charges he sent 1000 pilgrims to Mecca, whom he fed so

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delicately during the journey thither that in the middle of the desert they had fresh fish and cress from Ṭabaristán to eat.

4. *Abú Ṣádiq Hárún b. ʿAlí al-Ámulí* visited Mecca in this same fashion.

5. *ʿAlí b. Hishám al-Ámulí* visited Mecca in this same way in the days of ʿAbdu'lláh al-Ma'mún, and every day in the desert heralds proclaimed, "Come to the banquet of the Amír!" And at his table men of note and persons of no consequence alike sat down as his guests. Al-Ma'mún ordered that no one in Baghdad should sell him fire-wood or cress, but he brought paper to burn instead of fire-wood, and in place of cress he garnished his table with green silk torn up into shreds.

6. *Sahl b. al-Marzubán* possessed Láriján. He constructed a road through country which before his time was impracticable both in summer and winter, by cutting and tunnelling the mountains, making bridges, and building rest-houses; and made this road the best and safest.

Learned man of Ṭabaristán.

1. *Muḥammad b. Jarír aṭ-Ṭabarí*, the celebrated author of the great History, the great Commentary, the *Dhaylu'l-Mudhayyal*[1], and other works. All men of learning agree that no nation has produced so great a scholar as him. It is said that 400 riding-camels might daily be seen waiting at the gate of his house in Baghdad, belonging to sons of the caliphs, kings, ministers and *amírs*, besides some 30 mules, each watched by an Abyssinian groom, the owners of all these having come thither to glean what they could from Ṭabarí's incomparable learning.

[1] See the *Introduction* to de Goeje's monumental edition of Ṭabarí's *Annals*, pp. xiii—xv. It is called here in our MS. كتاب الذيل والمذيّل.

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2. *Imám-i-shahíd* ("the Martyr") *Fakhru'l-Islám ʿAbdu'l-Wáḥid b. Ismaʿíl Abu'l-Maḥásin*, who is called "the second Sháfiʿí", and for whom the Nidhámu'l-Mulk built a college at Ámul which still flourished in the author's time. Of him Abu'l-Maʿálí of Juwayn said: ابو المحاسن كلّه محاسن. He was the author of many works on Jurisprudence, the Ascetic Life, and other religious subjects, of which more than 40 volumes are in general circulation. His acuteness and discernment are illustrated by the following story, which also explains how it happened that he incurred the resentment of the Assassins (ملاحدهٔ ملاعين) and perished by the daggers of their *fidá'ís*:

کیاست او تا بغایتی بود که بعهد او ملاحدهٔ ملاعین فتوی طلبیدند و بر کاغذ نوشته که چگویند ائمّهٔ دین در آنکه مدّعی و مدّعَی علیه بر حقّ و راستی راضی شوند گواهی بیآید و بخلاف دعوئ مدّعی و اقرار مدّعَی علیه گواهی دهد، چنین شهادت بشرع مسموع باشد یا نه، واین کاغذ پارهٔ بحرمَیْن فرستادند، امامان حرمَیْن محمّد جوینی و محمّد غزالی و ائمّهٔ بغداد و شام جمله جواب نوشتند که چنین گواهی مسموع نیست تا پیش او آوردند، در کاغذ نگرید و روی بمرد کرده گفت ای بد بخت چندین سعی نا مشکور بر تو وبال باشد و بفرمود که اورا باز دارند و قضاة و ائمّه جمع آمدند، گفت این فتوی ملاحده نوشتند واین مدّعی و مدّعَی علیه جهود و ترسا اند و این گواه رسول ما صلعم را میخواهند که قران مجید شاهدست وَمَا قَتَلُوهُ وَ مَا صَلَبُوهُ وَ لٰكِن شُبِّهَ لَهُم[1]، ملاحدرا باز پرسیدند اقرار کرد که یك سالست تا مرا بجهان بطلب جواب این استفتا می دوانند، عوام آمل اورا سنگسار کردند و فخر الاسلام فتوی فرمود بسبّی ذراریٔ ایشان تا ملاحده بفرستادند و

[1] Qur'án, iv, 156.

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بغدر بر در مقصورهٔ جامع آمل بدین حدّ که مناره است بزخم کارد آن امامرا شهید گردانیدند و هنوز آن کارد بمدرسه بخانهٔ ایشان نهاده من بنوبتها دیدم،

3. *The Qáḍí'l-quḍát Abu'l-ᶜAbbás ar-Rúyání.* He was Chief Judge in the time of Shamsu'l-Maᶜálí Qábús (A. H. 366—403 = A. D. 976—1012), and his descendants still exercise judicial functions in Ṭabaristán. Many anecdotes are told of him, of which the one here outlined is included amongst the stories printed at the end of Forbes' *Persian Grammar* (London, 1869, pp. ۳۸—۳۹, Story LXXI).

Religious leaders (Imáms) of Ṭabaristán.

1. *Ibn Mahdí Mámṭíri.* His grave at Mámṭír had been visited by the author.

2. *Muḥammad al-Yazdádí.* His writings are so well known as to need no mention.

3. *Ibn Fúrak*, the preacher of the *Masjid-i-sálár* at Ámul. The pulpit which still stands there by the *miḥráb* was erected for him. "I have heard," says the author, "from my master Ibráhím b. Muḥammad Náṣiḥí, that the Ṣáḥib [Ismaᶜíl b.] ᶜAbbád, prompted by fanaticism, arrested and imprisoned him in a darkened house at Ray. Abú Isḥáq of Isfará'in the scholastic philosopher (*mutakallim*) used at this time to go to the Ṣáḥib and hold discussions with him every day. One day while they were thus engaged in a garden, the discussion turned on the 'creation of actions' (خلق الافعال). The Ṣáḥib stretched out his hand, picked an apple from a tree, and said, 'Is not this my act?' (f. 59*b*) 'If it be thine act,' replied Abú Isḥáq, 'restore it to the same place.' The Ṣáḥib, unable to reply to this, said, 'Ask thy boon.' 'My boon,' said the other, 'is [Ibn] Fúrak.' The Ṣáḥib immediately ordered his release; whereupon he came to Ámul." There

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he remained till the end of his life, and then the Sálár built for him the Mosque still known as the Sálár's Mosque. While in prison Ibn Fúrak composed two books on Scholastic Philosophy (علم كلام). He is buried in the quarter of ʿAlí Kaláwa (بمحلّهٔ علی کلاوه) above the Dome of the Cross-roads (سر بالاء گنبذ چهار راه).

4. *The Qáḍí'l-quḍát Abu'l-Qásim al-Bayyáʿí.* He was remarkable for his knowledge in Jurisprudence, Scholastic Philosophy, Poetry, Epistolary style and Philosophy. He wrote, both in prose and verse, in Arabic, Persian and the dialect of Ṭabaristán.

5. The Great Master *Abu'l-Faraj ʿAlí b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hindú* [1]. Though his ancestors came from Qum, he himself was born and brought up in Ṭabaristán. His grave is at Astarábád, in a house which was his property. Of him al-Bákharzí says:

كأنّ الفضل لم يُخْلَقْ الّا له،

The following are the best-known and most widely read of his works:

كتاب البلغه، كتاب نُزْهَه، كتاب المذكّر و المؤنّث، كتاب امثال المولّده، كتاب مفتاح الطبّ، كتاب المساحة، كتاب كلمة الروحانيّة فی حكم اليونانيّة، كتاب الوساطة بين الزنا و اللواطة،

Besides these he has written much on Philosophy, Medicine and Philology, and his collected poems amount to 15,000 couplets, or even more, "pure as limpid water and like unto lawful magic." His Arabic treatises form five volumes in his writing.

و يكی منشور قضای آمل بخانه جمال بازرغه بمحلّه جولكه كوی نهاده كه بعهد شرف المعالی برای اسلاف بازرغه نوشته بود مثل آن خطّ

[1] He died, according to *H. Kh.*, in A. H. 410 or 420 (A. D. 1019 or 1029).

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دربین عهد و سالها کسی ننوشت و یکی از کبار علما در حق او میگوید (بیت)

سَمَا فِی ٱلشِّعْرِ أَعْلَامٌ كِبَارٌ فَصَارَ لِكُلِّهِمْ شَرَفٌ وَ مَجْدُ
فَأَوَّلُهُمْ إِذَا ذُكِرَ ٱبْنُ حُجْرٍ وَ آخِرُهُمْ أَبُو ٱلْفَرَجِ ٱبْنُ هِنْدُو

6. *The Imám ᶜAbdu'l-Qádir al-Furjání*, concerning whom al-Bákharzí says:

اتّفقَتْ علی امامته الالسنة و تجمّلَتْ بمکانه و زمانه الامکنة و الازمنة و اثنی علیه طیب العناصر و ثُنّیَتْ به عقود الخناصر فهو فرد فی علمه العزیز لا بل هو العلم الفرد فی الایّام المشاهیر،

His grammatical works include the *Jumal* and its commentary, the commentary on the *Iḍáḥ-i-ᶜAḍudí*, and the *Talkhíṣ*. Some of his poems are cited in the *Dumya* [*tu'l-Qaṣr* of al-Bákharzí].

7. *Abú Saᶜíd Mudhaffar b. Ibráhím*. He was a learned jurisconsult, and was for some time attached to the Ṣaḥib [ᶜIsmaᶜíl] b. ᶜAbbád, after whose death he sought the patronage of Abú Ṭálib Hárún ath-Thá'ir al-ᶜAlawí, who bestowed on him ample favours, and dismissed him to his home, but he was unfortunately drowned in the Caspian Sea while crossing to Ábasgún. These verses are his:

أَسِحْرٌ بِأَجْفَانِهِ أَمْ خُمَارُ وَ مِسْكٌ بِعَارِضِهِ أَمْ غُدَارُ
غَزَالٌ بِخَدَّيْهِ وَرْدُ ٱلْحَيَاءِ وَ ظَلُّ ٱلْحَمَالِ عَلَيْهِ نَثَارُ
فَمِنْ رِيقِهِ يُتَعَاطَى ٱلرَّحِيقُ و من خدّه يُجْتَنَى ٱلْجُلَّنَارُ

Al-Bákharzí gives an account of him in the *Dumyatu'l-Qaṣr*, and cites these verses which occur in a *qaṣída* composed by him in praise of Qábús:

اشیم عفوك و الآمال تبسطه وَ مُوقفی مِنْكَ مِثْلَ ٱلْأَخْذِ بِالْكَظَمِ
اذا رقدتُ فانّ الروح فی حلمی وَ إِنْ أَفَقْتَ فَطَعْمُ ٱلْمَوْتِ مِلْءُ فَمِ
لَا يَأْمَنَنَّ أَخٌ طَالَتْ سَلَامَتُهُ وَ ٱلدَّهْرُ مَغْرِبُهُ إِنْ نَامَ لَمْ يَنَمِ

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Mention is also made of his son Abu'l-Majd and his brother Abu'l-Faraj al-Mudhaffar b. Isma'íl, the jurisconsult, traditionist, anchorite and man of letters.

8. *'Adí b. 'Abdu'lláh;* 9. *Abú Sa'd aṣ-Ṣaydaláni*; 10. *Abú Ḥanífa Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Astarábádí Bári'-i-Jurjání*:

نصحْتُ اخى وَهْوَ لا يعلم و قلْتُ له قولَ من يفهم
تعلم اذا كنْتَ ذا ثروةٍ فبالمال يحسن ما تعلم
وفى العلم زينٌ لذى درهمٍ . . . . . [1]

11. *Abu'l-'Alá al-Mihrawání*, lawyer, mathematician, poet, jurisconsult, etc.

12. *Muḥammad b. Jarír b. Rustam as-Sarwí*, jurisconsult, philosopher, traditionist, etc. He was a fervent Shí'ite, and was for a long while in attendance on the Eighth Imám, 'Alí b. Músá ar-Riḍá. His most famous works are the *Kitábu'l-Mustarshid* and the *Kitábu 'Khudhu'n-na'l'* ("Book of 'Pluck off thy shoes'").

13. *Khwája Imám 'Imád Kujaj* [2], called *Faqíh-i-Ál-i-Muḥammad*, a learned, pious and ascetic man. The Amír Ibn Darrám [3] detained him for a couple of years at Ḥilla. The people of Baghdad and Kúfa and the Shí'ites of Arabia sought him out to profit by his learning, and subscribed yearly a sum of 1000 *dínárs* for his maintenance. Ibn Darrám [3] married his daughter, and one of their descendants was living at Ḥilla in the time of the author (who had visited him), and enjoyed the favour of the reigning Caliph an-Náṣir li-díni'lláh (A. H. 575—622 = A. D. 1180—1225), by reason of his learning, virtue and nobility.

[1] The last hemistich is wanting in all the manuscripts.

[2] This name occurs as كجيج in A, كجبج in B, and كجبج in C. It also occurs in Dawlatsháh, pp. 310—316 of my edition.

[3] Or *Warrám*.

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Writers and scribes of Ṭabaristán.

1. *ʿAlí b. Zayn* was noted for his originality and eloquence. Amongst his works are the *Firdawsu'l-Ḥikmat* and the *Baḥru'l-Fawá'id*. He was originally secretary to Mázyár (put to death A. H. 226 = A. D. 840—1), and afterwards of the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (d. A. H. 227 = A. D. 842).

2. *ʿAbdu'lláh*, known as *Ibnu'ṭ-Ṭabarí*, came to Sámarra in great poverty in the Caliphate of al-Mutawakkil (A. H. 232—247 = A. D. 847—861), and, when in such dire straits that he had to sell most of his clothing for food, was fortunate enough to attract the notice of the Caliph's son al-Mu'ayyad bi'lláh, and so attained to affluence and wealth.

(f. 61*a*) Saints and Anchorites.

1. *Shaykh Abu'l-ʿAbbás Qaṣṣáb* ("the Butcher"), whose fame still endures, and whose tomb is still frequented.

2. *Shaykh Abú Jaʿfar al-Ḥanáṭi*. In his shrine is preserved a Qur'án said to have been written by ʿAlí's son Muḥammad called *Ibnu'l-Ḥanafiyya*, which has such virtue that any person daring to swear falsely on it dies miserably within the year.

3. *Shaykh-i-Záhid*. His tomb is in the quarter called ʿAlí-ábád, by the Gate of Zindána-kúy. Anyone who drinks wine in this quarter and passes by his shrine inevitably becomes an outcast from that quarter. (لا محاله از آن محلّه آواره شود).

4. *Shaykh Abú Turáb*. His tomb is still visible by the Gate of the Mosque in the quarter of Darlabash (بمحلّهٔ درلبش).

5. *Shaykh Abú Naʿim*.

6. *Quṭb-i-Chalúsí*. Sulṭan Sinjar wore his mantle (*khirqa*) and visited his retreat, which still exists. Sinjar's minister Naṣíru'd-Dín Muḥammad Bú Tawba hated and persecuted

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him, and was always trying to persuade his master that he was a hypocrite and impostor. One day at Bisṭám they brought the saint a melon. He laid his finger on it, saying, "We have killed Muḥammad-*i-bí-Tawba* ('the Unrepentant');" and it so happened that at that very moment the minister was put to death by Sinjar at Merv.

7. *Qáḍí Hishám.* His tomb is close to that of Shams-i-Ál-i-Muḥammad in the quarter of ʿAwámma-kúy. The following extraordinary *qaṣída* [1], written in a mixture of Arabic and Persian, satirizing one of his contemporaries, is by him:

ای بفرهنگ و علم دریاؤ لیس مارا بجز تو همتاؤ
منم و تو که لا حیاء لنا هزلرا کردهایم احیاؤ
هر یك از ما شده مشار الیه در جهان همچو ید بیضاؤ
من بشعر و نجوم و حمق وجنون تو بآرایش و بفتواؤ
لی و لك از دو چیز تقصیرست گرچه هستیم هر دو داناؤ
لیس لی عقل و لا حیاء ترا هر دورا غالبست سوداؤ
هست فی الپشم جای خندیدن نیست فی الچشم قطرهٔ ماؤ
آید و نآید از من شیدا خواه امروز و خواه فرداؤ
آید از من که اضرب المخراق ناید از من بهیّ و عقلاؤ
جعبهٔ شاعران قرین منست همچو آتش قرین منجاؤ[2]
قُلْ فبئس القرین وباك مدار لست تدری که ایش معناؤ
مضحکات آید از خواطر ما همچو دُرّ از میانِ دریاؤ
می ندانند قَدْرِ ما جُهّال که چه بلهرّه ایم و رعناؤ
هر دورا تن دو است و جان واحد هر دو دل کرده ایم یکتاؤ

[1] This *qaṣída* affords an excellent specimen of Persian macaronic verse, of which the most ancient European specimen is, I believe, the *Opus Merlini Cocaii poetae Macaronicorum*, first printed at Venice about 1521.

[2] Variants in this line are: A. B. جعسه; C. جعبهٔ شاعرون چکرده بوین; A. سنجاو.

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خانهٔ خویش دان تو خانه من چون عطارد ببرج جوزاؤ
مهرهٔ مهر مهر من شکنی چونکه تنها شوی بهر جاؤ[1]
بر زمین همچو مهرْ بر فلکی بر فلك نیست مهر تنهاؤ
مهر بر مهر تو نهادستم مهر بر مهر سخت زیباؤ
مهرهٔ بازی همی و سغبه کنی می ستانی چو مهرهٔ ماؤ
گه ستانی عمامهای دراز گه عتابی و خزّ و دیباؤ
گه شبیخون بری بآمل و ری از سمرقند تا بخاراو
گه سوی رود بست حمله بری گه بپالیز[2] و گه بلوراؤ
آمل و ری کلاهما کردی این بتاراج و آن بیغماؤ
چونکه با خود مرا همی نبری ارمغانی فرست غبراؤ[3]
دوستان زمانه چنین اند کلّهم حسّدٌ و اعداؤ
یادم آید ز دوستان چنین هرکه بر خوانم الاخلّاؤ[4]
انّ آبائی الّذین مضوا سمعوا قصّتی چه رسواؤ
وثبوا عن قبورهم از ننگ حلفوا انت لسْتَ مِنّاؤ
زوجتی هر شبی تخاصمنی[5] بیننا هر شبی مُحاکاؤ
مر مرا گوید او که ای احمق تا کی این شعر واین محاباؤ
ماند این شعر تو باسفل تو راست گوید که سخت گنداؤ
لیت عقل بدی ازین دو یکی تا مگر یفعل المداواؤ
بس فما بالنا لسایلکم[6] انا مجنون و تلك حمقاؤ
چون شبانگه بسوی خیمه[7] شوم دونه اخ بنات و ابناؤ[8]
حمله آرند و سوی من تازند همچو مشهد شکاف غوغاؤ
هرچه در خانه منکرند مرا نحن من دستنبم عجزناؤ

[1] C. شبها for تنها. [2] B. پیالیز و; C. پیالیزر; A. بتالیز. [3] C. عنبراؤ.
[4] C. از اخلّاؤ. [5] B. adds: من اوست سلیطه و معربد.
[6] C. من for بس; A. B. نسائلکم. [7] A. خانه for جونه. [8] C. که نه.

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انا تنهـا و هم قد اجتمعوا لا جرم ينتفون تاتاؤ
گر نصیحت کنید و پند دهید جمع کردید پیر و برناؤ[1]
تا مگر رحمتی فرود آید بر حوالی نه بر علیناؤ
پند کس نشنوند و مغذورند هست دلشان چو صخر صمّاؤ
ما استجابوا لکم و لو سمعوا قد شقوا فی بطون ماماؤ[2]
شلم ولکه کون شمارا پاك ان شلمتم فقد کرزناؤ[3]
یا امام زمانه لو سئلت هل دماغك فقل که لا لاؤ
خاطر تیز من بدان سبب است[4] نیك پروردهام ز مبداؤ
مر مرا هر زمان بجای لبن مامکم داد هار کالباؤ[5]
هرکه بشنید این فصاحت من گفت لیت اللسان الیناؤ[6]
اوندجنون فتنهٔ فصاحت من[7] که دباغی و کون و سیلاؤ[8]
شاعر آن بود که وی من آسا بو[9] دادمی کیری تیز بشعراؤ[10]
جعبهٔ شاعرون چه کرده بوین[11] همهرا چون بداء تیلاؤ[12]
هرکه می دوسته ای من این برسی[13] بو من آسا بشر و جیناؤ[14]
هرکه می دشمنه آمل بهلی واری وا واره کوی لنکاؤ[15]
فی شکم ای فضول جعبه پره[16] اینه که وا دره بمی لاؤ[17]
اونکه آورده می برون اشعار برده وا شیولا اشیلاؤ

[1] A. omits. [2] C. ما استجابوا, and شقوفی. [3] B. C. omit. [4] C. سلبست.
[5] A. مالکم. [6] C. لست and الشاؤ; B. النّساؤ. [7] B. اون چنون
[8] B. که دباغی دکون و ٷ دلاو; C. کهدماغی; منتنه; C. او خون بیشه.
[9] B. C. بو for بود. و کون و دلاو. [10] A. داوسی; C. کبری.
[11] See above, line 10 of this poem. [12] C. بدا یتلاء و.
[13] C. بری for برسی. [14] C. و for بو. [15] C. را for وا; and کوی وشکاؤ.
[16] B. من مشکم; C. من منکم; B. C. و before جعبه, for which A. B. have جعسه.
[17] B. آینه.

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من و توهر دوئی سخن مونی ایـن بنـارنـج و آن بخرماؤ
هر دوی نامه وا ایدی کبرن[1] هر دو هستیمه ها برازاؤ
چون بهیچ نودمون و المنون[2] ببریم رسکت و کلیناؤ[3]
همه این شعرون و نو موزون[4] کتن از دست من بفرماؤ[5]
تو چه ها ساحنا و وامن وا[6] دا مرا کس بنوبتی جاؤ
من چه ها واردم ارم مردم[7] تو چه هارومهٔ بمی لاؤ[8]
سکر انکوم هر دوون بوزیم[9] چون وزی وشتر ای کلیناؤ[10]
وا بشو یضحکون فی ریشی[11] مَنْ یَرَانی چرا نخندداؤ[12]
خر بخندی که می سهون شنوی[13] هر بسته یضحك من آساؤ[14]
می سهون بشنون بعیشه درون وا بساری و استرابا ؤ[15]
دی بجادست نواله ینفعنی[16] پارهئت جندکا بزیراؤ[17]
بثقل تر شه سیو پیراریـن[18] هار معجون شده بضرطاؤ[19]
کشمش اوذچنون که مش دنبو[20] با اوی حی و لام حلواؤ[21]
ما سفرجل جل جل جللن[22] یا کمثری و رراء زارا ؤ[23]

[1] B. هر دویی; C. نامهرا ایری. [2] C. بهیچ المسون. [3] C. کلناؤ.
[4] B. شیعرون نو هودون. [5] B. بفرباؤ ... کتن ای. [6] C. تو جه ها ساجیباء و امن وا; B. توچه ها خباد د... وامن دا.
[7] A. چه ملو; C. لردم. [8] B. adds another verse nearly identical with the last:

من چه وا وارومه تو دونی جا بو چه وارومه بمی تاؤ

[9] C. هر دون بورم. [10] C. وشتر کلناؤ. [11] C. فی رئی.
[12] C. چواؤ. بخنداؤ. [13] C. بشنوی. [14] C. هر بمنه.
[15] B. omits this verse. C. نقبه دودن. [16] C. ای for دی; B. بجاؤست and ینفعنی.
[17] B. پارهئت جند کازراؤ; C. باربیت چندکا بزیراؤ.
[18] C. تر شد. [19] C. ماز for هار; and بطرطاؤ.
[20] C. دمو. [21] B. یا; C. ادی.
[22] C. یا سفرجل جل جلین [23] A. B. om. [و] and ررا رراؤ.

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ای ورهٔ شیر مست کجا بای تو[1] ای بروه نبود داداوٗ[2]
اون بزونی بزم بلیل و نهار بو یارون کنی چرا راوٗ[3]
پار و پیرار ما فعلت دوا[4] لا جرم هالکسته ای جاوٗ[5]
دو نهونی سمعته کجلا[6] هرچه تو نست بکر دو ستاوٗ[7]
انا کالمرد فی میون حدث مردهرا سو بنو اطبّاوٗ
ای اطبّا خوجی ینای مرا[8] هو هلم تا یجی مسیحاوٗ
این مجابات شعر خواجه امام کس ندیدست مرغ عنقاوٗ
هرکه واها نمای وها مردم[9] دونی که وا بیای ای داوٗ[10]
این باون وزنه دقیقی کت[11] تی تلی لی تنا تناوٗ[12]

Sages and Philosophers of Ṭabaristán.

1. *Buzurjmihr*, the celebrated Prime Minister of Núshírwán "the Just", concerning whom Firdawsí relates many anecdotes, as how he read the writing after he had become blind. On the conquest of Persia by the Arabs, and the fall of the Sásánian dynasty, he fled to Ṭabaristán. When asked, "Why did the kingdom of the House of Sásán fall when it contained such a man as thee?" he replied:

لانّهم استعانوا باصاغر الرجال الی اکابر الاعمال فآل الامر الی ما آل

"Because they sought the help of small men in great matters, and so affairs came to what they did." One day they said to him "Come, let us discuss Fate and Predestination."

[1] B. درهٔ, C. مت. [2] B. واواوٗ. [3] B. یاءون; C. چراواوٗ [4] C. پیراو. [5] C. ها للست. [6] C. که for دو; and سمته; B. کجکاوٗ. [7] C. بکردوسناوٗ. [8] B. C. جی for خوجی. [9] C. داها; B. نمای وها. [10] B. وا بیای ای واوٗو; C. دابیای ای داوٗ. [11] C. یاون; B. بآون; C. ذونه. [12] A. B. فی تلی; C. تنااوٗ.

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He answered, "What have I to do with such a discussion? I behold an external appearance whence I deduce the underlying reality: I see fools prosperous and wise men in want, and I know that the ordering of results is not in man's hands." A number of similar wise sayings of his are reported, including the following: "Man is troubled at the waning of his wealth, but not at the waning of his life."

2. The *Ispahbad Marzubán b. Rustam b. Shirwín Parím* (پریم), who wrote the book called *Marzubán-náma*, which our author prefers to that of *Kalíla and Dimna* [1], and also a Díwán of poetry in the Ṭabarí dialect, known as the *Niki-náma*. In the same dialect Ibráhím Muᶜíní says:

چنین [2] کنه دونای زرّین کناره به نیکیه نومه کـه شرجاد یاره
این پری بیاجه اندوهن کاره [3]

Physicians and Poets of Ṭabaristán.

1. *Abu'l-Faraj Rashíd b. ᶜAbdu'lláh*, the physician of Astarábád, flourished in the time of Qábús Shamsu'l-Maᶜálí (A. H. 366—403 = A. D. 976—1012), and was peerless in his time, not only in medical science, but in eloquence and skill both in prose and verse. He is mentioned in the *Dumyatu'l-Qaṣr* of al-Bákharzí.

2. *Sayyid Abu'l-Faḍl Ismaᶜíl b. Muḥammad al-Músawí* of Jurján, the author of the well-known medical Encyclopædia entitled *Dhakhíra-i-Khwárazmsháhí*, the *Kitáb-i-Yádigár*, the *Kitábu'l-Aghráḍ*, the *Kitáb-i-Ṭibb-i-ᶜAlá'í* and the translation of Avicenna's *Qánún*.

[1] See the *Notice sur le Merzban Namèh* in Vol. ii of Schefer's *Chrestomathie Persane* (Paris, 1885), pp. 194—211, and pp. ١٧١—١٩٨ of the texts in the same volume.

[2] A. چتن.

[3] B. omits this line, which in C. is preceded by a blank space. C. بیاجه اندوهن.

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[ASTRONOMERS OF ṬABARISTÁN.][1]

1. *Gúshyár b. Lisán al-Jílí.*

2. *Awḥadu'd-Dahr ad-Dánishí*, who compiled a complete set of astronomical tables (زیج کامل).

3. *Bizist b. Fírúzán*, whose name al-Ma'mún arabicized into Yaḥya b. Manṣúr, and who compiled the *Zíj-i-Ma'múní*[2].

4. *Ustád ʿAlí Pírúza*, the panegyrist of ʿAḍudu'd Dawla Sháhinsháh Fanákhusraw. Hamadán is said to have been given to him in fief. The following verse in the Ṭabarí dialect is by him:

پر و جه که خورد همیون شو دارو ای وی بسهون کمترم با نیرون[3]

One day both he and Mutanabbí were visiting ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla. He was bidden to sit down, while Mutanabbí was left standing. Mutanabbí, vexed at this, spoke scornfully of this "speechless (i. e. barbarous) poet", but when the meaning of some of his verses was explained to him by ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla, he admitted their excellence, saying, "Honour is due to the meaning, which is, as it were, the spirit of speech, not to the language [in which it is expressed], which is but as its material body."

5. *Díwárwaz Mastamard* (دیوارّوز و مسته مرد). The following account is given of the manner in which this poet obtained these titles. He came from Ṭabaristán to Baghdad to visit the Shahinsháh ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla, and (according to the proverb[4] الفقیه یلتفت الی الفقیه) sought the assistance of his compatriot ʿAlí Pírúza, who, however, fearful lest his

[1] As some poets are included in this section also, it would appear that no separate heading is required here, but that we should add "Astronomers" after "Physicians" in the last heading.

[2] B. here inserts the heading "Poets of Ṭabaristán".

[3] C. دارد for دارو, دی for وی, and یزون for نیرون.

[4] Equivalent to "Birds of a feather flock together".

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eloquence and wit might make him a dangerous rival in that prince's favour, made excuses for delay, hoping that the new-comer would weary of waiting and return home. After a while, however, Díwárwaz formed some idea of the truth; and, when ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla was one day drinking in a garden with some of his friends, he climbed over the wall and approached him. Some of the attendants, thinking him to be a robber or assassin, rushed upon him with blows and cuffs. ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla, hearing his cries, caused him to be brought before him and questioned him, whereupon he told his story, and how ʿAlí Pírúza had treated him, after which he recited a *qaṣída* which he had composed. ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla, charmed with its grace and sweetness, expressed a doubt as to whether he was really its author, and, to prove him, bade him extemporize some verses on a singing-girl clad in blue silk who happened to be near. Thereupon he recited the following verses in the Ṭabarí dialect:

کو و سدرهٔ تیله بداوا آین
وا دیم کتی دیم ای مردمون و شاین[1]
خیری بنهون گر دو نرگیس نماین
ای خیری خوی دادستی و راین[2]
کوی خورهٔ شی با بن بو مداین
ای دریا و نیمی و نیومه آین[3]

ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla was delighted, and gave him gifts, and caused his name to be inscribed in the register of his poets, and he received the title of *Díwárwaz*.

[1] C. نیله and دادیم; B. مزدمون. [2] B. به نهون کرد and om. [و]; داوستی; C. در آین. [3] B. کو خورهٔ; C. بنی or نبی, and باین بوید ویتومه. B. این;

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After the death of ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla he came to Ámul, while Shamsu'l-Maʿálí Qábús was still reigning over Ṭabaristán. One day he had been drinking with his friends, and, while returning home, passed the gate of the Shrine of Náṣir-i-Kabír, whence the clergy and custodians, seeing his state, came forth, seized him, beat him, and cast him into prison. Thence he made his escape, came to Gurgán, and described his adventures in the following Ṭabarí verses, which he laid before Qábús, who honoured and rewarded him, and gave him the title of *Masta-mard*:

دا گیهون ای خور خورمی وندا
مست آو و مستو آتشن بیانا[1]
دا شاه بگیهون سایه سری دلشا
بریه و کت اونرا که خورها[2]
آوی داد از ابنی آ اینا
شرای واك وارسنه گیهون و جا
مردم خورم ای خور ایرو نه بومی
زنش بمن چون کنه کیون شومی[3]
آین پم یسکی شومست موبی مولس[4]
بدای شمنی دل دنهراسن ای کس[5]
ناگاه بمن اوکتن یکی دونا دون[6]
ها کتن مرا برون زنن بزندون[7]

[1] C. وا and خُرّمی; B. سست; C. ends the verse: منستوس ساما. [2] C. وا and دکت بربه. [3] C. کنه کبون. [4] B. سست; C. هوئی موس. [5] C. به ای; B. شمینی; C. ودنهراسن. [6] B. ناکا; C. om. [دو] before نادون. [7] B. C. بردن; B. ازو for زنن; B. زنیدون; C. نربذون.

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Section II (f. 64*b*).

The Houses of Washmgír and Buwayh.

Abú Isḥaq Ibráhím b. Hilál aṣ-Ṣábí's great history of the Buwayhid Dynasty entitled *Kitábu'l-Táj* is praised. He and the Ṣáḥib Isma'íl b. 'Abbád are intended in the saying "More eloquent than the two *Ṣáds*" (أَبْلَغُ مِنَ ٱلصَّادَيْنِ). How Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla, the brother and viceroy of 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla Fanákhusraw b. Ruknu'd-Dawla Ḥasan b. Buwayh came with the Ṣáḥib to Ṭabaristán, conquered its fortresses, and drove out its ruler Qábús, who for eighteen years after lived in exile at Níshápúr, will be described in another volume. Praise of 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla, and of his noble encouragement of all branches of learning and letters, which were better represented in his time than in any other. The author states that he had heard his father say that, being curious to know the reason of this, he enquired of Khusraw Sháh, the Magian astrologer of Sháh Ghází Rustam b. 'Alí, who said that it was because his reign fell in the beginning of the cycle of Mercury. Amongst the most notable of these man of learning were Abu 'Alí Fáris, the Grammarian and lexicographer, who wrote the *Íḍáh-i-'Aḍudí* and the medical work entitled *Kámilu 'ṣ-Ṣanā'at*; Abu'l-Faḍl (f. 65*a*) b. al-'Amíd and his son Abu'l-Fatḥ; the Ṣáḥib himself; Abu'l-Qásim 'Abdu'l-'Azíz b. Yúsuf; aṣ-Ṣábí Abú Isḥaq Ibráhím; the poets Ibn Nubáta as-Sa'dí, Abu 't-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbí, Abú Bakr al-Khwárazmí, and Ustád 'Alí aṭ-Ṭabarí. Of these it is related by the last but one that his patron was in the habit of asking his poets to extemporize verses on any object which happened to be placed before him. On one occasion this happened to be rice-pudding (برنج بشیر): he invited the poets to extemporize on it, but,

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before they could do so, himself described it in the following verses:

بهطه تعجز عن وصفها يا مدّعى الاوصاف بالزور
كانّها وهى على جامها لآتى فى ماء كافور

For 42 years ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla resided at Baghdad, whence he practically exercised sovereign sway over the Ḥijáz, Yaman, Egypt, Syria, the two ʿIráqs, Ṭabaristán and all the districts of Farshwádgar. Verses addressed to ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla by Bakhtiyár Muʿizzu'd-Dawla:

افاق حين وطيت ضيق حناقه يبغى الامان و كان يبغى صارما
فَلَأَرْكَبَنَّ عزيمةً عضديّةً ناجيةً تَدَعُ الانوفَ رواغما

Anecdotes of ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla related in the *Siyaru'l-Mulúk* (i. e. *Siyásat-náma*) of the Nidhámu'l-Mulk al-Ḥasan b. Isḥaq, including that of the money entrusted by a poor man to a fraudulent judge. — Verses on him by the Ṣáḥib:

فواللّه لولا اللّه قال لك الورى مقال النصارى فى المسيح بن مريم
ولو قلت انّ اللّه لم يخلق الورى لغيرك لم يخرج و لم أتأثّم

Núḥ b. Manṣúr "the king of Bukhárá" (the Sámánid) sent presents to him by al-ʿUtbí when the latter went on the Pilgrimage, amongst which were included 500 robes embroidered with Núḥ's name. ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla was incensed at this, and, turning to ʿUtbí, said:

سنجعل قبل عودك من وجهك سواحل جيحون مرابط للجحافل و مراكز القتال و القبايل

Account of the House of Washmgír b. Ziyár, the kings of Gílán.

The title of Ispahbads is property applied to two different dynasties of Ṭabaristán, the House of Báwand of the author's own time, and the Qárinwands, or House of Washm-

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gír, who governed Ṭabaristán for nearly 80 years after the Ṭálibí Sayyids. Anyone, says the author, who wishes to appreciate the greatness and splendour of Qábús b. Washmgír, called Abu'l-Ḥasan, should read what is said of him by Abú Manṣúr ath-Thaʿálibí and al-ʿUtbí in their works.[1] Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlí b. Muḥammad al-Yazdádí made a compilation of his sayings, which he entitled *Qarâ'inu Shamsi'l-Maʿálí wa Kamálu'l-Balágha*, from which the author here cites some 33 lines, praising especially the remarkable eloquence of Qábús in the Arabic language, his courage and skill in manly exercises, and his knowledge of Philosophy, Astronomy and Astrology. An Arabic letter which he wrote to his maternal uncle the Ispahbad Rustam b. Sharwín Báwand on the occasion of a quarrel which arose between them is next cited. (This fills rather more than a page, and brings us to f. 67*a*, l. 18). Qábús also composed in Arabic a treatise on the Astrolabe, and submitted it to Abú Isḥáq aṣ-Ṣábí, whose laudatory criticism is cited in full (ff. 67*b*, l. 7—68*a*, l. 4). Qábús also maintained a regular correspondence with the Ṣáḥib, of which the intermediary was one of his chamberlains named ʿAbdu's-Salám. — Anecdote to illustrate the virtue of Qábús. — His servant Aḥmad Saʿdí, and his minister Abu'l-ʿAbbás Ghánimí, who was never known to take a bribe, and who was in friendly correspondence with Abú Naṣr al-ʿUtbi. — Specimens of this correspondence.

Account of Kayús (f. 69*a*: كيوس).

In the time of Qubád the son of Pírúz (A. D. 488—531) the sovereignty of Ṭabaristán was in the family of Gushnasp-sháh (جسنفشاه), and Kayús, "the man of the House of

[1] *i. e.* the *Yatímatu'd-Dahr* (Damascus ed., vol. iii, pp. 288—290) and the *Ta'rikhu'l-Yamíni* (Cairo ed., vol. i, pp. 389—412, and vol. ii, pp. 1—26).

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Báwand", was sent thither by the king to help the representative of this family to expel the Turks from Khurásán, which was successfully accomplished. At that juncture appeared the false prophet Mazdak the son of Námdárán (*sic*, for Bámdádán), whose history is fully related in the Nidhámu'l-Mulk's *Siyaru'l-Mulúk* (i. e. *Siyásat-náma*); by whose influence Qubád was ruined and deposed in favour of his younger son Nushírwán, who extirpated the heresiarch and his followers. The Kháqán of the Turks, hearing of these internal disturbances in Persia, advanced with his hosts to the Oxus. Thereupon Núshírwán wrote to his brother Kayús to inform him that he was collecting Persian and Arab levies to oppose the Turks, and that Kayús must be ready to join him in Khurásán to punish the Kháqán's insolence (f. 69*b*). Kayús at once collected his troops in Ṭabaristán, marched on Khurásán, routed the Kháqán, crossed the Oxus, took much spoil from the Turks, and established his kinsman Húshang as governor of Khwárazm. Thence he proceeded to Ghaznín, appointing governors over the towns as far as Nahrawála (نهروالہ), and levying tribute on Turkistán and India, after which he returned to Ṭabaristán and despatched one of his nobles to Núshírwán with the spoils of victory, and a letter in which he wrote: "Thou art several years younger than me, and knowest how without thy help or aid I have defeated the Kháqán and exacted tribute from the Turks and Indians. It is not fitting that thou shouldst wear the crown while I am a mere retainer: yield up to me the throne and crown and treasures of our father, that I, according to thy wish, may create a more ample kingdom." This request was promptly refused by Núshírwán in a letter of which the text is given (f. 70*a*). Kayús thereupon collected his army and marched from Ṭabaristán on Madá'in (Ctesiphon), but was defeated and imprisoned by his brother, who, on his refusal to repent of his action and

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promise amendment, caused him to be put to death, and detained his son Shápúr a prisoner at Madá'in until the Kháqán of the Turks again invaded Khurásán and Ṭabaristán (f. 70*b*). Núshírwán again marched against him, and in the battle which ensued the tide of victory was turned in favour of the Persians by a mysterious troop of two or three thousand horsemen clad in green and with green standards, who only on Núshírwán's most urgent entreaty consented to disclose their identity. It then appeared that, in the reign of Qubád's father Pírúz the son of Yazdigird the son of Bahrám Gúr the son of Yazdigird "the Wicked", the lands beyond the Oxus and Balkh river were by treaty committed to the care of Khushnuwáz (here اجستوار, for خشنواز) the king of the Hayáṭila (or Huns), afterwards called Ṣighániyán (f. 71*a*), who however, violated his pact and ravaged the country until, when Pírúz marched against them, they treacherously attacked him, defeated his army, took him and many of his nobles captive, and cut off his head. Now he had left at Madá'in Súkhrá the son of Qárin the son of Súkhrá, one of the descendants of Káwa (the blacksmith who headed the revolt against Dahák in favour of Ferídún) as his viceroy. This Súkhrá, on hearing of the disaster, gathered an army and marched against Khushnuwáz, who, knowing that he could not resist him, restored the captives and spoils he had taken and apologised for his conduct, so that Súkhrá, without striking a blow, returned victorious, and received from the *múbads* the title of *Ispahbad*. Now Pírúz left three sons, Qubád, Balásh and Jámásp, of whom the first fled to Khurásán and implored the Kháqán's help to recover the kingdom, which had been given to the second, with the last-named to assist and advise him. When Qubád, assisted by the Kháqán, had advanced against his brothers as far as Ray, Balásh died, and Súkhrá proclaimed Qubád king, and sent him a message

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asking him to send back his Turkish allies from Ray, and to hasten himself to Madá'in, which he did. So Qubád became king of Persia, and Súkhrá grew in honour and favour until envious slanderers traduced him to the king, and he, being informed of this, fled with his nine sons to Ṭabaristán (f. 71*b*). Súkhrá was treacherously slain, but his sons fled to Badakhshán, where they acquired territory and established themselves. These and their retainers it was who, hearing of Núshírwán's accession and favourable disposition towards them, had afforded him such opportune assistance against the Kháqán's troops. He, in gratitude for their services, bade them choose such lands as they liked for a possession to them and their children. Thereupon the eldest of them, Zarmihr, chose Zábulistán; and the youngest, Qárin, Wandá-ummíd Kúh, Ámul, Lufúr and Farím, which is called Kúh-i-Qárin ("Mount Qárin"). The latter returned with Núshírwán on his homeward march as far as Ṭabaristán, and was there installed (f. 72*a*) as Ispahbad. To the author's time the nobles of Lufúr and Astarábád, and the people called Qárinwands, represent the descendants of this Qárin; and the author promises to give at the end of his book genealogical tables shewing the descent of the Báwands, Qárinwands, Surḥánwands, Láriján, Marzubán, Ustundár, Dábuwán, Kúlá'ij, Walásán, Sa'ídúhá, Úlán-mihán, Amír Ká, and Kabúd-jáma, and the reasons of their being thus named. Thus was Ṭabaristán divided up between Qárin and the chiefs established in Tammísha in the time of Núshírwán, till he died, and was succeeded by his son Hurmazd, who reigned twelve years.

Successors of Kayús (f. 72*a*).

In the reign of Hurmuzd, Sháp̣úr the son of Kayús died, leaving a son named Báw, who accompanied Khusraw Parwíz in his campaign against the Greeks, and distinguished

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himself in the war with Bahrám Chúbína, receiving in reward for these services Iṣṭakhr, Ádharbáyján, ʿIráq and Ṭabaristán as his government. He extended his territories to the north-east so as to include Khurásán, Khwárazm and all Turkistán as far as the Desert of the Tátárs. Shírúya the parricide on his accession destroyed Báw's house at Ctesiphon (Madá'in), plundered his possessions, degraded him, and interned him at Iṣṭakhr. But Shírúya's ill-gained power soon ceased with his early death, and he was succeeded by Queen Ázarmí Dukht, of whom the Prophet said "Woe to that people over which women reign!" (وَيْلٌ لِأُمَّةٍ مَلَكَتْهَا ٱلنِّسَاءُ). At this epoch the Prophet was at al-Madína. The nobles of Persia (f. 72*b*) counselled Ázarmí Dukht to summon Báw to the Court and place him in command of the army, but he declined to debase himself, as he considered, by serving a woman, and retired to worship in the Fire-temple. Then followed the disastrous reign of Yazdigird the son of Shahriyár, the last Sásánian king, when the Caliph ʿUmar sent Saʿd b. Abí Waqqáṣ (whose skill with the bow is still proverbial amongst the Arabs, in the phrase أَرْمَى مِنْ سَعْدٍ) against the Persians, till he inflicted on them and their general Rustam-i-Farrukhzád the crushing defeat of Qádisiyya, as is described in full in the *Sháhnáma* and other histories. Then Yazdigird summoned Báw from Iṣṭakhr, restored to him his fiefs, estates and possessions, and retained him in his service, while Ṭabaristán, neglected by its lawful lord, fell into the hands of Gáw-bára.

The Descendants of Jámásp and the Story of Gáw-bára (f. 72*b*).

When, on the death of Balásh, Qubád, the father of Núshírwán, succeeded to the throne, Jámásp, the youngest of

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the three brothers, fled to Armenia, whence, from Darband, he attacked and subdued the countries of the Khazars and Sclavs (سقلاب). In these lands he married and settled. Of the sons whom he begat, one was Narsí, the lord of Darband, who on his death left behind him a son named Fírúz, beautiful as Joseph and brave as Rustam, who enlarged his father's dominions as far as Gílán, from one of the noble families of which country he chose a wife, who bore him a son named Gílánsháh. To him in turn was born a son named Gíl, who, as the astrologers predicted (f. 73*a*), became a mighty king, and brought under his rule all Gílán and Daylam. He then turned his attention to Ṭabaristán, whither he proceeded on foot, driving before him two Gílání cows. At this time the Sásánian governor of Ṭabaristán was Ádhar-valásh, and into his service Gíl insinuated himself. About this time the Turks, taking advantage of the difficulties which the Arabs were causing to the Persian Empire, attacked Ṭabaristán, and Gíl, or "Gáwbára" as he was now called, greatly distinguished himself in repelling them. After this Gíl obtained from Ádhar-valásh permission to return home to see his family; but when he returned it was at the head of an army of several thousand men of Gílán and Daylam. Ádhar-valásh, greatly alarmed, despatched tidings of this to Yazdigird the king of Persia, who, advised by the Múbads, ordered him to relinquish his government to this descendant of Jámásp and scion of the Royal House. Thereupon Gíl sent to Yazdigird suitable presents and offerings (f. 73*b*), and received in return the title of Gíl-gílán Farshwádgar-sháh. Some time afterwards Ádhar-valásh was killed by a fall from his horse at polo, and all his possessions passed to Gíl: and this happened in the 35th year of the New Era which the Persians had lately inaugurated. Gíl made his capital in Gílán, but from thence to Gurgán filled the land with lofty castles and other

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buildings. Fifteen years after his accession to power he died, and was buried in Gílán. He left two sons, Dábúya and Pádhúspán, of whom the former, a severe and cruel ruler, succeeded his father on the throne of Gílán, while the latter reigned over Rúyán.

Account of the reign of Báw in Ṭabaristán (f. 73*b*).

When Yazdigird, routed by the armies of Islám, fled to Ray, Báw, who was with him, sought and obtained permission to go by way of Ṭabaristán to Kúsán, there to visit a Fire-temple which his grandfather Kayús has founded, promising to rejoin his sovereign in Gurgán. His absence, however, was somewhat prolonged, and he was still in these lands when he received news of Yazdigird's death at the hands of the traitor Máhú'í-i-Súrí. (Here 5 couplets of the *Sháhnáma* are cited). Báw thereupon shaved his head and retired into religious seclusion in the Fire-temple of Kúsán, while the Turks (f. 74*a*) ravaged all Khurásán and Ṭabaristán, and the Arabs, led by the Imám Ḥasan b. ʿAlí, ʿAbdu'lláh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭáb, Hudhayfa of Yaman, Qutham b. al-ʿAbbás, and Málik b. Ashtar an-Nakhaʿí advanced to Ámul, where the traces of their encampment are still visible in the place called Málika-dasht. The people of Ṭabaristán, driven to despair by these calamities, agreed to elect and obey one ruler in whom they should all feel confidence, and unanimously chose Báw, who was ultimately induced to accept this responsibility, on condition that they gave him absolute power, even to life and death, over them. So he expelled the invaders from the country and reigned for fifteen years, till one day Bashár, the mother of [Ádhar-] valásh, struck him on the back with a brick and slew him, and herself reigned for eight years. Báw left a little son named Suhráb, whose aged mother carried him off

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safely and hid him in the house of a gardener near Sárí, where he remained unmolested during these eight years. At the end of this period some of the servants of Kúlá Khurzád Khusraw Ispáhí (کولا خورزاد خسرو اسپاهی) saw the lad, questioned the gardener as to his origin, and finally extracted the truth. They then carried off the lad to Kúlá, when the people gathered round him, and, joined by the men of Mount Qárin, made a sudden raid on Panjá-hazár (پنجاهزار ؟), captured and slew Valásh, massacred as many of his partisans as they could, and crowned Suhráb king at Parím. Then they built for him a palace, hot bath and *maydán* above the village of Tálpúr, which lies at the foot of the castle of Kúz, and these buildings were afterwards enlarged by the Ispahbad Sharwín (f. 74*b*), and were still visible when the author (who had himself seen them) wrote, no one of the various rulers (ᶜAlawí Sayyids, descendants of Gáw-bára, Daylamites of the House of Buwayh, and sons of Washmgír) who had successively held possession of this district having thought fit to destroy them, though the ᶜAbbásid troops wrought great devastation.

History of the House of Dábúya after the death of Báw (f. 74*b*).

When Dábúya died, he left a son, who, under the style and title of Dhu'l-Manáqib Farrukhán-i-Buzurg, subjugated Ṭabaristán even as far as Níshápúr (in Khurásán), reduced the people to his allegiance, and, by building and cultivation, raised the country to a condition of prosperity which it had never before enjoyed, and repeatedly repelled the coveteous Turkish raiders. Then the Daylamites revolted against him, and compelled him to flee to Ámul, where, in a castle then called Fírúz-Khusra, but now Fírúz-ábád, distant two parasangs from that city (f. 75*a*), he fortified himself. The Daylamites besieged him, and hoped to starve

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out him and his garrison, but he ordered his people to knead clay into the shape of loaves of bread and set these loaves on the walls in sight of the besiegers, who, thinking them to be bread, and despairing of being able to reduce so well provisioned a place, withdrew to Daylam, whereupon Farrukhán emerged from his fortress and followed them, constructing in the way which led to their country dykes, ditches and canals which rendered the road impassable to horsemen.

Invasion of Ṭabaristán by Maṣqala b. Hubayra ash-Shaybání (f. 75*a*).

It was now the Caliphate of ʿAlí b. Abí Ṭálib. A tribe called the Banú Nájiya reverted to Christianity. ʿAlí attacked and crushed them, and sold their women and children by auction as slaves to the Musulmáns. Maṣqala b. Hubayra ash-Shaybání bought them for 100,000 *dirhams* and set them free; but being unable to pay more than 30,000 *dirhams* he fled to Muʿáwiya. ʿAlí thereupon destroyed his house at Baṣra (the first time such a thing had been done in Islám) and said of him:

قَبَّحَ اللّٰه مصقلة فَعَلَ فِعْلَ السادّة و فَرَّ فِرَارَ ٱلْعَبِيد

Maṣqala's descendants are still settled at Kúfa. Concerning ʿAlí he said (f. 75*b*):

قضى وطرًا فيها علىّ فاصبحت امارته فيها احاديث راكب

After ʿAlí's death he promised Muʿáwiya that with 4000 man he could effect the conquest of Ṭabaristán, but, after waging war with Farrukhán for two years, he was killed on the road between Kajú and Kandasán, where his tomb still stands, and is ignorantly visited by the common people, who imagine its occupant to have been one of the Prophet's Companions [1].

[1] See al-Baládhurí's *Futúḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 335.

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Further History of Farrukhán (f. 75*b*).

At this time the Mas-mughán Valásh was *marzubán* (warden of the marches) by the Ṭayzana Rúd (or Mayándarúd, as it is now called), and whenever the Ispahbad went on a hunting expedition in this direction, he used to stay a few days there to drink and make merry at Tanparast under Tardawíní, where the ruins of the palaces of the Ispahbads Farrukhán and Khurshíd are still visible. He presently asked and obtained in marriage the Mas-mughán's daughter, for whom he built a residence in this place, which he connected by a canal with the sea; but later he was offended with his father-in-law, beheaded him, and annexed all his domains as far as Dárán, but respected the descendants of Báw, on whom he inflicted no injury.

The Ispahbad Farrukhán and Qaṭarí the Khárijite.

Qaṭarí b. al-Fujá'at al-Mázíní (f. 76*a*), the chief of the Khárijites or 'Seceders', one of the bravest and most eloquent of the Arabs, took refuge with the Ispahbad, in the time of the tyrant Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf, together with ʿUmar Fannáq [1], Ṣáliḥ Mikhráq and other Khárijite chiefs, all of whom were hospitably entertained by their host during the winter. But when they and their horses were rested and strengthened, they threatened the Ispahbad that they would seize his country unless he accepted their creed.

The author here gives a brief account of the origin of the Khárijites after the Battle of Ṣiffín and the arbitration of Dawmatu'l-Jandal. Their first leaders were ʿAbdu'lláh b. al-Kawwá and Maʿdán al-Ayádí, who, at the head of a thousand men, first raised the Khárijite war-cry, "Arbitration belongs to God alone!" (لا حكم الّا للّه), to which ʿAlí replied:

[1] Some of the MSS. have فيّاق for فنّاق. *Cf.* p. 104 *infra*.

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أَسْكُتْ قَبَّحَكَ ٱللَّهُ يَا اثرم فوالله لقد ظهر الحق و كنت فيه ضئيلًا شخصك خفيًّا صوتك حتّى اذا نعر الباطل نجمت نجوم الماغر

And on that day ʿAlí's soldiers kept reciting this verse:

سلامٌ عـلى من بايـع الله شـاربا و ليس على الحزب القعود سلام

The first person to whom the Khárijites swore allegiance as "Commander of the Faithful" (*Amíru'l-Múminín*) was ʿAbdu'lláh b. Wahb ar-Rásibí, and the first who drew his sword in support of this heresy was ʿUrwa b. Udayya, who, turning to Ashʿath b. Qays, said:

مَا هٰذِهِ ٱلدِّينَةُ وَ مَا هٰذَا ٱلتَّحْكِيمُ أَىُّ شَرْطٍ أُوتَفُ مِنْ شَرْطِ ٱللَّهِ

Ashʿath turned from him, and ʿUrwa struck with his sword the hind-quarters of the mule he was riding. At the battle of Nahruwán, ʿUrwa (f. 76*b*) fled from before ʿAlí's sword, but later he was taken prisoner and brought before Ziyád ibnu Abí-hi, who asked him what he thought of ʿAlí and ʿUthmán. He declared them both infidels, whereupon Ziyád caused his head to be struck off.

The Khárijites are known by four names, to wit:

(1) *Ḥarúriyya*, because of Ḥarúrá, a place where they encamped. This name was given to them by ʿAlí, who exclaimed, on hearing a verse read from the Qur'án (xviii, 103—104) concerning "those whose effort miscarries in the life of this world while they suppose that they do well," "By God, these are they of Ḥarúrá!"

(2) *Máriqiyya* ("disobedient", "rebels", "heretics"), in allusion to the saying of the Prophet: "They shall slip from the Faith as the arrow slips from the bow" —

يمرقون من الدين كما يمرق السهم من القوس

and another of his sayings to ʿAlí: "Verily thou shalt fight the covenant-breakers, the doers of injustice, the rebels:"

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انّك تقاتل الناكثين و القاسطين و المارقين

(3) *Shurát* ("sellers" of their lives to win Paradise), alluding to Qur'án, ii, 203, and ix, 112, which verses they were accustomed to apply to themselves.

(4) *Kharijites* (*Khawárij*, "rebels", "dissidents" or "seceders"), because they came out in revolt against ʿAlí.

Whenever one of their chiefs was slain, they at once swore allegiance to another, until it came to the above-mentioned Qaṭari b. al-Fujá'at al-Mázinı́, who was one of the bravest and most famous of them, and whose poems are preserved in the *Ghurarú'd-Durar* of Sayyid Murtaḍá, the *Ḥamása* of Abú Tamám, and the *Kámil* of al-Mubarrad. Thus, when the Kharijites elected him their chief and swore allegiance to him, he wrote to Abú Khálid:

أَبَا خَالِدٍ أَيْقِنْ فَلَسْتَ بِخَالِدٍ وَ مَا جَعَلَ ٱلرَّحْمٰنُ عُذْرًا لِقَاعِدِ
أَتَزْعَمُ انّ الخارجىّ على الهدى وَ أَنْتَ مُقِيمٌ بَيْنَ لِصٍّ وَ جَاحِدِ[1]

To which Abú Khálid (whom the author curses) replied:

لَقَدْ زَادَ ٱلْحَيٰوةَ إِلَىَّ حُبًّا بَنَاتِى إِنَّهُنَّ مِنَ ٱلضِّعَافِ (f. 77a)
مَخَافَةَ أَنْ يَرَيْنَ ٱلْفَقْرَ بَعْدِى وَ أَنْ يَشْرَبْنَ رَنْقًا بَعْدَ صَافِ
وَ لَوْلَا ذَاكَ مَا سَوَّمْتُ مهرى وَ فِى ٱلرَّحْمٰنِ لِلضُّعَفَاءِ كَافِ[1]

ʿImrán al-Ḥiṭṭán, one of the most eloquent and learned jurisconsults of the Kharijites, wrote the following verses in reply to Abú Khálid:

لَقَدْ زَادَ ٱلْحَيٰوةَ إِلَىَّ بُغْضًا وَ حُبًّا لِلْخُرُوجِ ابو بلال
أُحَاذِرُ أَنْ أَمُوتَ عَلَى فِرَاشِى وَ أَرْجُو ٱلْمَوْتَ تَحْتَ ذُرَى ٱلْعَوَالِ
وَ مَنْ يَكُ هَمَّهُ ٱلدُّنْيَا فَانِّى لَهَا وَٱللّٰهِ رَبِّ ٱلْبَيْتِ قَالِ

This ʿImrán it was who, when at war with ʿAlí, said:

[1] *Aghání*, xvi, 155.

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إِنِّي أَدِينُ بِمَا دَانَ ٱلشُّرَاةُ [1] بِهِ يَوْمَ ٱلنُّخَيْلَةِ مِنْ قَتْلِ ٱلْمُحِلِّينَا
وَ بِٱلَّذِي دَانَ يَوْمَ ٱلنَّهْرِ دِنْتُ بِهِ وَ شَارَكَتْهُ مَعًا كَفِّي بِصِفِّينَا
تِلْكَ ٱلدِّمَاءُ مَعًا يَا رَبِّ فِي عُنُقِي وَ مِثْلُهَا فَٱسْقِنِي آمِينَ آمِينَا

The following verses are also by him:

أَنْكَرْتُ بَعْدَكَ مَنْ قَدْ كُنْتُ أَعْرِفُهُ مَا ٱلنَّاسُ بَعْدَكَ يَا مِرْدَاسُ بِٱلنَّاسِ
أَمَا تَكُنْ ذُقْتَ كَأْسًا دَارَ أَوَّلُهَا عَلَى ٱلْقُرُونِ فَذَاقُوا نَهْلَةَ ٱلْكَاسِ
قَدْ كُنْتُ أَبْكِيكَ حَيًّا ثُمَّ قَدْ يَئِسَتْ نَفْسِي فَمَا رَدَّنِي مِنْ عَبْرَتِي يَاسِي

Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf slew many of the "blue-clad" Khárijite heretics (ازارقة) by the hands of his general Muhallab b. Abí Ṣufra, and sent Sufyán b. Abi'l-Abrad al-Kalbí with an army drawn from Syria and the two ʿIráqs to attack the Khárijites in Ṭabaristán, bidding them not rest till they could bring him Qatarí alive or dead. When Sufyán reached Ray, the Ispahbad Farrukhán, who was encamped with his army at Damáwand, sent an ambassador offering his help, provided that he should be recompensed in some way for his services. Sufyán promised to give him whatever he desired, and his request was that the Arabs should not molest or interfere with his kingdom, on which understanding the pact was concluded. Qaṭarí, being informed of this, marched from Damáwand to Samnán, pursued by the Ispahbad, who overtook him at the spot last named, where a battle took place between them. The two leaders, singling one another out, engaged in a duel. Qaṭarí missed his stroke, fell from his horse and broke his leg, and was decapitated by the Ispahbad. ʿUmar Fannáq, Ṣáliḥ Mikhráq and the other Khárijite leaders were also slain, while others were brought captive to Mázandarán, where the traces of their encampement are still visible in the place called Qaṭarí Kaláda. The Ispahbad spared the lives of the captives and common

[1] B. has ٱلْوَصِيُّ (i. e. ʿAlí b. Abí Ṭálib) for ٱلشُّرَاةُ.

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soldiers (ضُعَفَا), and sent the heads of the slain and a portion of the spoils to Sufyán, who forwarded them on with an account of the victory to Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf. Ḥajjáj thereupon sent a messenger to Sufyán with an ass's load of gold and an ass's load of dust, bidding him, in case Sufyán should prove to have gained the victory himself, to bestow on him the gold; but if otherwise, to cast the dust on his head at the chief cross-roads in the bázár, which disgrace Sufyán had to suffer when the true state of the case was made known.

Soon afterwards ᶜAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwán died and was succeeded by his son Walíd, while Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf also fell from power, and Qutayba was made governor of Khurásán and Transoxiana, in which capacity he shewed much friendship towards the Ispahbad. Yazíd b. al-Muhallab (f. 78*a*) was in the service of Sulaymán b. ᶜAbdu'l-Malik (who succeeded his brother Walíd in A. D. 715), and whenever Qutayba wrote despatches describing a fresh victory in Turkistán, he would write back belittling them and saying, "All the accounts of thy victories are from a place where the Commander of the Faithful cannot test their reality: why dost thou not conquer Ṭabaristán, which is a garden in the midst of the domains of Islám?" But Qutayba knew that Yazíd b. al-Muhallab was his enemy, while the Ispahbad, on the other hand, was his friend, so that he naturally refrained from attacking him.

Sulaymán, on his accession, gave the government of Khurásán to Yazíd, and ordered Qutayba to be slain. And when Yazíd sent him accounts of his victories over the heathen in Transoxiana, the Caliph used to reply. "Why does he not effect that which he blamed Qutayba for not doing?" So Yazíd, hearing this, collected an army of Arabs and men of Khurásán and Transoxiana, and came to Gurgán. When the Ispahbad heard this, he sent all his people with

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their families and cattle into the mountains, leaving the plains empty of their population. Meanwhile Yazíd reached and occupied Tammísha, and continued his advance in the level country towards Sárí, while the Ispahbad Farrukhán marched parallel with him in the hills. On reaching Sárí, Yazíd alighted in the Ispahbad's palace, and the people were afraid, and the Ispahbad himself was inclined to flee into Daylamán and there seek help against the invaders, but his son dissuaded him from an act which would be regarded as tantamount to abdication (f. 78*b*), and counselled him rather to sent messengers into Gílán and Daylamán asking for re-inforcements, which finally arrived to the number of some ten thousand men. Yazíd, hearing this, sent Khidásh b. al-Mughíra b. al-Muhallab b. Abí Ṣufra and Abu'l-Jahm al-Kalbí with twenty thousand horseman against the Ispahbad. When they drew near, Salmán the Daylamite came out to meet them, and was attacked by the van-guard of the Muslims under Muḥammad b. Abú Surra al-Juʿfí, who defeated Salmán's troops, slew him, and pursued the fugitives into the hills, where, however, the Ispahbad's army put them to rout with a storm of stones and arrows. Then, withdrawing by another road from this position, they prepared an ambush into which the Muslims fell, so that fifteen thousand of them, including some of Yazíd's own kinsmen, perished. Continuing their advance, they plundered and burned Yazíd's camp, after which the Ispahbad despatched a courier to Gurgán, bidding the Nahapets of Ṣúl [1] rise against Ḍarís and the Arab soldiers who occupied their country, slay them all, and seize for themselves their cattle and possessions. This was done, and amongst the slain

[1] نهابدهٔ صولیّه. The first word seems to be a broken plural of the word occurring in Armenian as *nahapet*, "patrician"; the latter is also a foreign word, and is explained by de Slane (*Ibn Khallikán*, iv, 172) as meaning "a king of Jurján".

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were fifty of Yazíd's cousins (f. 79*a*). Then the Ispahbad sent men to destroy the high road from Sárí to Tammísha and render it impassable (دارا نجن کنند) to horsemen, after all of which deeds he ceased to fear Yazíd.

So Yazíd, unable to prevail by force, had recourse to strategem, and summoned before him Ḥayyán an-Nabaṭí ("the Nabathean"), a Daylamite client of Maṣqala b. Ḥubayra, who had been nick-named "the Nabathean" because he was dumb, and said to him: "O Abú Yaʿmar! I entreated thee evilly in Khurásán, confiscated thy goods, and put thee in bonds. I have now a favour to ask of thee: think no more of the past, and meditate no treachery or guile." "O Amír," replied Ḥayyán, "since thou hast shewn me so much honour and favour, I bear no malice; and God forbid that I should neglect the claims of Islám or protect the Magian faith!" Then Yazíd told him the news from Gurgán, the strait in which he found himself, and the discouragement of his troops, begging him to devise some plan whereby the Muslims might save themselves in the present and take their revenge in the future. Ḥayyán answered: "This *gabr* (i. e. the Ispahbad) hath now waxed bold: if he should not hearken to my words, but should say, 'For two years he has ravaged my country and raided my cattle and property,' what answer shall I make?" Yazíd answered, "I will give as much as 300,000 *dirhams* in compensation, if he will accept it, and let us depart in peace."

Then Ḥayyán came to the Ispahbad and said, "Yazíd b. al-Muhallab (f. 79*b*) hath sent me to say that if you will serve him in this matter, he will quit your country, but if not he will summon re-inforcements from Syria, 'Iráq, Khurásán and Turkistán and destroy you and your kingdom." So the Ispahbad was prevailed upon to accept the 300,000 *dinárs*, of which he gave 5000 to Ḥayyán, and to let Yazíd go: and he encamped in Tammísha by the moat to give

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time for the captives and fugitives of his army to join him. Then Yazíd passed onwards to Gurgán, where he swore to shed enough blood to turn a mill; but after killing many of the *marzubáns* and principal men of the country, he was glad to escape from his oath by a device suggested to him by the Nahapets of Ṣúl, who bade him mix blood with a mill-stream and eat of bread baked from the flour which it ground. Then he returned to Syria to the court of the Caliph Sulaymán.

Anecdote (f. 79*b*).

Ibn ʿA'isha relates that this Caliph, Sulaymán b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik, one day mounted the pulpit, having anointed his beard with perfumed unguent (غاليه) so that it utmost dripped from him, and said, "I am the youthful King who is confident in his kingdom and his youth": and ere another Friday had come he was dead [1]. He was succeeded by ʿUmar b. ʿAbdu'l-ʿAzíz (reigned A. H. 99—101; A. D. 717—720), whose piety, justice, learning and clemency are become proverbial. He abolished the hateful practice of publicly cursing ʿAlí, Fáṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (f. 80*a*), which, introduced by the Umayyads, had become pretty general throughout the Muḥammadan world, and substituted the reading of the verse (Qur'án, xvi, 92): "Verily God enjoins on you justice, well-doing, and charity towards kinsmen, and forbids you evil speech, unseemly acts and disobedience; He exhorteth you that perchance ye may be admonished."

He also restored to the descendants of Fáṭima the property of Fadak, of which she had been wrongfully deprived, and it remained in their possession until the time of the ʿAbbásid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (reigned A. H. 232—247: A. D. 847—

[1] Cf. *Al-Fakhrí*, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 153.

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861)[1]. Concerning this reparation [the Sharíf] ar-Raḍí says:

يَابْنَ عَبْدِ ٱلْعَزِيزِ لَوْ بَكَتِ ٱلْعَيْنُ فَتًى مِنْ بَنِى أُمَيَّةَ لَبَكَيْتُكَ
غَيْرَ أَنِّى أَقُولُ [إِنَّكَ قَدْ] طِبْتَ وَ إِنْ لَمْ يَطِبْ وَ لَمْ يَزْكُ بَيْتُكَ[2]

"In Khwárazm," says the author, "I heard Nidhám [u'd-Dín] Sam'ání say in the pulpit: 'I saw in a dream one of the Substitutes (*Abdál*) of the Prophet seated in the chief seat of apostolic honour, and beside him 'Umar b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, and somewhat lower 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭáb. "How," I enquired, "hath 'Umar b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz attained to such proximity?" "Because of his justice," was the answer. "But," said I, "was not 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭab more just than he?" "He," came the answer, "was just in an epoch of justice; but the other in an epoch of tyranny and injustice."'"

Yazíd had written to Sulaymán that so great were the spoils of his campaign in Ṭabaristán that the string of camels bearing them would reach continuously even to Syria. 'Umar, into whose hands this letter passed on his accession, demanded of him these boasted spoils, and, as he made excuses, declaring that he had found himself unable to effect their transport, he was cast into prison. Meanwhile the Ispahbad Farrukhán restored in great measure the prosperity of his raided domains, but died in the course of the next year or two, after a reign of seventeen years. And it was he who was the grandfather of Manṣúr al-Mahdí.

Reign of the Ispahbad Dázmihr the son of Farrukhán (f. 80*a*).

Dázmihr, the eldest son of Farrukhán, succeeded his father, and reigned for twelve years, during which no one

[1] This Caliph was conspicuous for his insane hatred of the House of 'Alí and their followers (the Shí'a).

[2] These verses, with another which stands between them, are cited in *al-Fakhrí*, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 155.

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attempted to molest him. He repaired and restored the Palace of the Ispahbads; and in his days Abú Muslim began his propaganda in favour of the House of ᶜAbbás at Merv. The Umayyad Marwán II, nick-named "the Ass" (*al-Ḥimár*) was then (A. H. 127—132: A. D. 744—750) Caliph, and he was so called because the Arabs name the year which ends a century "the Year of the Ass", in allusion to the Ass of Ezra; and from the foundation of the Umayyad Caliphate until Marwán was slain exactly one hundred years had elapsed [1]. Al-Jáḥidh relates in the *Kitábu'l-Bayán wa't-Tabyín* that when Marwán was hard pressed by Abú Muslim's troops, he ordered one of his trusted servants to bury in the sand the staff and cloak of the Prophet, and to cut off the head of one of his daughters, lest she should reveal the hiding-place of these secret relics. But later this servant, being taken captive, said, "If you slay me, the inheritance of the Prophet will be lost for ever." So they spared him, and he shewed them where he had hidden these relics, which were sent to two villages in Tammísha where the councils of the propagandists were at that time held.

Abu'l-Faraj ᶜAlí b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hindú relates in his *Kitáb-i-amthál-i-Muwallada*, on the authority of Ibn Durayd, the author of the *Kitáb-i-Ḥumayra*, that Kaᶜb b. Zuhayr received this mantle from the Prophet in reward for a *qaṣída* which he had composed in his praise, and sold it to Muᶜáwiya for 20,000 *dirhams*. It is now in the possession of the ᶜAbbásid Caliphs.

There was never a more wonderful story than that of Abú Muslim. To a villager of humble origin and lowly position God gave so much power that he took in hand and successfully carried out one of the greatest enterprizes ever planned. It is related that when he conquered the

[1] This statement is incorrect, even if we reckon from the death of ᶜUthmán (A. H. 656) till the death of Marwán (A. H. 750).

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Umayyads, and Marwán (f. 81*a*) took account of his deeds, he caused his secretary, ᶜAbdu'l-Ḥamíd, who was a master in epistolary composition, to write him a long letter, full of threats and promises, ending with the words:

ان نجمع فداك و الّا فالهلاك

When this long and wordy letter was read to Abú Muslim, he laid it before him, broke in pieces one of his arrows, and wrote in reply these two couplets:

محا السيف اسطار البلاغة و انثنى عليك ليوث الغاب من كلّ جانب
فان تقدموا نعمل سيوفًا شحيذةً يهون عليها العتب من كلّ عاتب

Then they said to ᶜAbdu'l-Ḥamíd the secretary, "Write to Abú Muslim again in words briefer, weightier and more concise, so that he may not answer thee in this fashion." So ᶜAbdu'l-Ḥamíd wrote:

يا ابا مجرم لو اراد الله بالنّملة صلاحًا لما انبت لها جناحًا، و على قدر المصعد يكون السقطة

But Abú Muslim's plans prospered, until he brought Abu'l-ᶜAbbás ᶜAbdu'lláh as-Saffáḥ b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlí b. ᶜAbdu'lláh b. ᶜAbbás from al-Madína and proclaimed him Caliph, who, on his death, was succeeded by his brother Abú Jaᶜfar al-Manṣúr ᶜAbdu'lláh b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlí b. ᶜAbdu'lláh b. ᶜAbbás.

It is related that once ᶜAbdu'llah [b.] ᶜAbbás was travelling in company with ᶜAlí, who always showed the greatest consideration for this family (f. 81*b*), and bestowed on them the governments of Baṣra, Yaman and Ṭá'if, while Qutham, the foster-brother of Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlí was the governor of the two sacred cities (Mecca and al-Madína). Concerning this the Amír Abú Firás says:

اما علىٌّ فقد ادنى قرابتكم عند الولاية ان لم يكفر النعم
هل جاحد يا بنى العبّاس نعمته ابوكم ام عُبَيْد الله ام قثم

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When ᶜAbdu'lláh's son was born to him in Qaṭífa, he asked ᶜAlí to name the child with a noble name:

يا امير المؤمنين رزقنى الله البارحة ولـدًا فسمّه مشرّفًا و كنّه متوّخـا، فأخذ منه امير المؤمنين ولال ثمّ قل هاك انّـه ابـو الملوك الاربعـين سمّه عليًّا و كنّه ابا لحسين

When al-Manṣúr had been enthroned as Caliph, he gave Abú Muslim permission to return to Khurásán. When he reached Ḥulwán, however, he was overtaken by a messenger from the Caliph bidding him return, since his advice was needed on an affair of importance which had arisen.

Abú Muslim suspected treachery, and consulted with one of his friends, saying, "How dost thou think that I stand with Abu'l-ᶜAbbás?" The other replied, "Like the lion whose foot was pierced by a reed, so that it was unable to move; and a simple-minded, well-meaning man, seeing its weakness and hearing its moaning, took pity on it, approached it, and (f. 82*a*) drew forth the thorn from its foot. Thereupon the lion slew the man, in spite of his cries and protests; 'for,' it said, 'thou art a meddlesome fellow, and perhaps thou may'st assist some other lion as thou hast assisted me, and it may drive me from this my hunting-ground, and make me an exile and a wanderer.' Abú Muslim replied, "If I do not tend, nurse and care for that tender sapling which I have planted, but abandon it to its fate, passers-by will pluck it up by the roots, and my labour of many years will be rendered null and void." So he left his treasure and baggage in the charge of his vicegerent Sindbád at Ray, and himself returned to Manṣúr, where that fate overtook him which is well known, and to which he alluded in the punning epigram:

تَرَكْتُ ٱلرَّأْىَ بِٱلرَّى

When al-Manṣúr had killed Abú Muslim, he gave the

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post of *Wazír* to Abú Ayyúb al-Múriyání; and all men were filled with fear of him because of what he had done to Abú Muslim. Abú Ayyúb's intimates once remarked to him that however often he entered the Caliph's presence his countenance always shewed signs of fear. He repeated to them the parable of the hawk and the cock, when the former reproached the latter with ingratitude for fleeing, screaming and terrified, from men when they called him, notwithstanding the food he had eaten at their hands, and the benefits he had received from them.

Khurshíd was called Farshwád Marzubán, and the Nahapets were his maternal uncles and kinsmen. His paternal uncle actually ruled the country until Khurshíd reached the age of manhood. This uncle had a hand-maiden named Ramja and called Harúya (هروية) who was skilled in all sorts of tricks and conjuring, and who used to exhibit her skill to Khurshíd whenever he came to see his uncle. To her from his childhood he was deeply attached, so that they used to send letters and messengers to one another. His uncle, who was aware of this state of things, used to say to him: "This hand-maiden I hold in trust for thee, and when thou comest to man's estate, I will bestow her on thee."

The Ispahbad Khurshíd.

When Khurshíd was grown to man's estate, his uncle summoned his sons before him and said, "My nephew is grown up, and hath sent me a message, saying, 'The kingdom is my father's, who set thee on the throne under covenant with me; therefore surrender unto me the trust.'" His sons said, "Thou art king, and the kingdom ought to pass from thee to us. We will never consent (f. 83*a*) to thy surrender of the kingdom to him." The father replied, "Talk not like children, neither hammer cold iron, for I

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will be faithful to my covenant. Should I contravene the agreement, no blessing would it bring either to me or to you." Then said they, "Since it is so, send and bid him come hither, that thou may'st make it over to him." So he, knowing not their secret intentions, sent for Khurshíd, who, fully confiding in his uncle's integrity, came with a few followers from Tammísha, and was received by his uncle with paternal kindness. On an auspicious day a great banquet was held; but Khurshíd's cousins had conspired to kill him with a blow from a mace as soon as he should rise from the banquet and sit down to drink wine. The girl Ramja Harúya, however, was aware of their intended treachery, and informed Khurshíd of it. He thereupon summoned a foster-brother of his named Jalwánán, and bade him have two horses ready at the gate. Then, on some pretext, Khurshíd slipped out from the banquet, mounted his horse, drew his sword, and, with Jalwánán, rode away, with cries of defiance, back to Tammísha. His uncle reproached his sons bitterly for their meditated treachery, and wrote humble apologies to Khurshíd, declaring that he had no part nor lot in the conspiracy. For a year Khurshíd did not see his uncle, and was busy, assisted by the Nahapets of Sárí, in preparing for battle. Finally (f. 83*b*) he met his cousins in battle at Qaṣr-i-Dádaqán, a place midway between Tammísha and Sárí built by his father. He was victorious, slew or captured all of them, and pursued their army as far as Sárí. He then came before his uncle, exonerated him from all participation in the crime, and bade him choose for himself whatever residence and companions he pleased. His surviving cousins he banished to a mountain called Farrukhán Fírúz, where they remained till the end of their lives; and he married Ramja Harúya, and possessed himself of all the treasures of his father and his uncle, of whom the latter had reigned eight years. Khurshíd's kinsmen gathered

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round him, amongst them Wandarand, Fahrán and Farrukhán, the sons of Jusnas (Gushnasf) b. Sárúya b. Farrukhán the Great, who were his cousins on his mother's side. Of these he made the first *marzubán* of Ámul, the second *marzubán* of the highlands (*kuhistán*), and the last he kept with himself. The command of his army he gave to Shahr-Khwástán b. Yazdán-Kard. He repaired the Palace of the Isfahbadán, enclosed 400 acres (? گرى) of land (now called Kísa), used in the author's time by king Ardashír as a breeding-ground for Arab horses, and constructed a strong fortress called Si-dila (سەدلە)[1], and a market where he settled skilled artisans chosen from all parts of Ṭabaristán. Outside the fortress he built a great caravansaray, and he gave the city five gates, to wit the Highland Gate (دروازهٔ کوهستان), the Sea Gate, and the Gílán, Gurgán and Hunting Gates (دروازهٔ صید). He also had a channel cut from the mountain to the sea to bring water to the town: and this he called Gílána-júy (f. 84*a*). Further he made fish-ponds (مصاید ماهی), and, outside the Hunting Gate, a great *maydán* and a deep ditch, of which the traces still remain. Near this were covers well preserved and stocked with all sorts of game, such as deer, wild pigs, hares, wolves and leopards; and during his absence none dared to interfere with his preserves. He never remained for more than a month in any one place, and at each of his hunting-lodges he caused a month's provisions to be kept. In the highlands he had ninety-three wives, each of whom had her own special palace and servants and plate and furniture. For his first and favourite wife, Ramja Harúya, he built a lofty palace on the sea-shore at the village of Yazdán-ábád, on which he spent much money, furnishing it in the most sumptuous fashion; and he used to visit her

[1] C. Shihdila, شەدلە.

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always once a month, while to her care were entrusted his most precious possessions. If by any chance he was prevented from paying her this monthly visit, he used to send her an apology, and a gift of a thousand *dínárs*. She bore him a son named Hurmuz, whom he nominated as his successor. Amongst his other wives was Ázarmí Dukht, the daughter of the Ispahbad Farrukhán, called *Girán Gúshwár* ("She of the Heavy Ear-rings"), and his cousin Yákand ("Jacinth" or "Hyacinth", ὑάκινθος), the daughter of Farrukhán the Lesser. The Ispahbad was particularly attached to the former, and often used to make his hunting expeditions a pretext for visiting her. Yákand was a quarrelsome and masterful woman, and, having discovered her husband's clandestine visits to Girán Gúshwár, instructed her servants and the villagers to go with spades, pick-axes and other implements, and destroy and obliterate the road to Ispahbadán, where Girán Gúshwár dwelt, and to clear and improve the road to her own palace. So at midnight the Ispahbad, who had drunk freely, mounted his horse to go to Ispahbadán, but was directed by Yákand's coadjutors to the abode of their mistress. On arriving there, he knew that a trick had been played on him, and he sent in a message, saying, "I have four hundred men with me: can'st thou provide food for such a multitude?" Yákand ordered 400 cows to be sent out to then, and with each cow 400 sheep and 400 ass-loads [of provisions], and entertained them all for three days, at the end of which time she gave to each horseman a foal aud a calf, and to each footman three suits of clothes and an embroidered blanket (گلیمی معلم).

The Ispahbad Khurshíd had a general named Qárin, after whom was named the village of Qárin-ábád in Panjáhhazár and Mayándarúd, wherein he stored his treasures. It is now in ruins. His body-guard comprised 4000 men, and he always wore brocade, and sat on a golden throne, and

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exercised the fullest authority over the Ispahbad's people, both men and women. And when the Isfahbad had reigned a long while (f. 85*a*), he became filled with pride and self-assurance, and took no heed of anyone, and paid no attention to the nobles, so that the hearts of his people were alienated by his tyranny and arrogance, and they sought a pretext to rebel against him.

How the Ispahbad Khurshíd revolted against the Caliph Manṣúr.

When the Caliph al-Manṣúr slew Abú Muslim, and news of this came to his friend and ally Sindbád in Ray, he sent all the treasures and cattle which Abú Muslim had confided to him to the Ispahbad, as a trust, together with a present of six million *dirhams*, and at the same time cast off his allegiance to al-Manṣúr, and revolted against him. The Caliph thereupon sent Jumhúr b. Marár from Baghdad to fight against him; and he came to Ray and defeated Sindbád at Jurjunbání (? Jurkhiyání). Sindbád fled to Ṭabaristán and sought protection with the Ispahbad, who sent his cousin Ṭús out to meet him, with provisions, presents, horses and arms. When Ṭús met Sindbád, he alighted from his horse and saluted him, while Sindbád answered him from his saddle, and did not alight to do him honour. Thereat Ṭús was angered and said, "I am one of the Ispahbad's cousins, and he sent me out to do thee honour. It was not contemplated that thou should'st treat me with disrespect." To this speech Sindbád returned a harsh answer, and Ṭús, remounting his horse, soon found an opportunity to smite Sindbád with his sword and cut off his head, after which he brought all his retainers and stores to the Ispahbad, who was greatly vexed, reviled Ṭús, and took possession of all Abú Muslim's and Sindbád's property. News of this

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was sent by Jumhúr to the Caliph, who instructed his general to demand the surrender of this property from the Ispahbad. At this time ʿAbdu'l-Jabbár b. ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán was in Khurásán. The Ispahbad sent one of his chamberlains named Fírúz with Sindbád's head to the Caliph, who received him with great honour. On learning this, the Ispahbad sent Fírúz once more to the Caliph with a gift of precious stones and rare products of Ṭabaristán. The Caliph then requested him to hand over the treasures of Abú Muslim and Sindbád, but the Ispahbad persisted in declaring that they were not in his possession, and finally broke out into open revolt against the Caliph, who thereupon sent his son al-Mahdí to Ray, bidding him seize the Ispahbad's son Hurmuz as a hostage for the father's loyalty. The Ispahbad, on receiving this demand, replied that his son was too young to bear the fatigues of the journey, and al-Mahdí wrote to his father the Caliph, advising him not to press this demand, lest the Ispahbad should break into more open revolt. So al-Manṣúr sent him a royal crown and robe of honour, and the Ispahbad, being pleased thereat, consented to send to the Court of Baghdad the same tribute which Ṭabaristán had formerly paid to the Sásánian kings, to wit: a poll-tax of one *dirham* of gold for each inhabitant; 300,000 *dirhams*, each containing four *dángs* (*i. e.* $^4/_6 = {}^2/_3$) of "white" silver; 300 bales of green silk carpets and quilts; (f. 86*a*) the same amount of good coloured cotton; the same amount of gold-embroidered garments of the kinds called Rúyání and Lafúraj; the same amount of saffron, which is of a kind unequalled in all the world; and a certain amount of sea-fish. All this tribute was laden on forty mules, on each of which was mounted a Turkish slave or hand-maiden.

Now the sight of this tribute of Ṭabaristán did but inflame the Caliph al-Manṣúr's desire to posssess so rich a

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povince; and he sent a verbal message to the Ispahbad bidding him help his troops in repelling the attacks of ʿAbdu'l-Jabbár. He also wrote to his son al-Mahdí, who was at Ray, bidding him write to the Ispahbad that, owing to the drought and consequent scarcity of food, it was impossible for all his army to follow the same route, and that he desired the Ispahbad's permission for one division of them to pass through Ṭabaristán.

Account of the Caliph's treachery towards the Ispahbad.

At the command of his father the Caliph, al-Mahdí sent as ambassador to the Ispahbad a certain Persian (از مردی را اولاد اعاجم) with the request suggested by al-Manṣúr. The Ispahbad was at Isfahbadán, and when the ambassador had conveyed to him the message with which he was charged, he shewed him all honour, and answered that his country was the property of the Commander of the Faithful, who could do whatever seemed good in his eyes. When the ambassador had left the audience-chamber, his Persian proclivities (عجمیّت حمیّت) impelled him to declare to the Ispahbad the treachery meditated by the Caliph. So he called the Ispahbad's chamberlain, and said, "I have an important communication for the Ispahbad's private ear." When this request was communicated to the Ispahbad, he said, "It is but this moment that he left me (f. 86*b*); what matter of importance can have arisen so soon?" "Perhaps," said the chamberlain, "he cherishes some vain hope, and desires to crave some boon of you." "Tell him," said the Ispahbad, "that the ladies of the Royal Household are with me in the Palace, and that consequently you could not convey my message." When the ambassador heard this message, he knew that Fate could not be averted, and said to him-

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self, "Alas for all this pomp and circumstance and sovereignty which is to be cast to the winds! When Decline sets its face towards a house, no scheme or plan of its chiefs goes right. This man, for all his talents, can send me so flimsy an excuse! Fate and Destiny have, for the Caliph's satisfaction, let down the veil of ignorance before the face of the Ispahbad's discernment, so that he cannot see a fact which is as plain as daylight!"

وَ كُلُّ اُمْرِئٍ جَفَّتْ بِنَابِيعُ عَقْلِهِ فَلَا ذَنْبُهُ ذَنْبٌ وَ لَا عُذْرُهُ عُذْرُ

So the ambassador came back to al-Mahdí at Ray, and conveyed to him the Ispahbad's answer; and al-Mahdí despatched Abu'l-Khuḍayb Marzúq as-Saᶜdí, the client of al-Muthanná b. al-Ḥajjáj, by way of Zárim and Sháh-kúh, while he sent Abú ᶜAwn b. ᶜAbdu'lláh by way of Gurgán to effect a junction with him. And the Ispahbad had transferred the dwellers in the plain to the highlands, lest any collision should take place between them and the Caliph's troops: not knowing that the intention of the latter was to destroy and dispossess him.

Account of ᶜAmr b. ᶜAlá in Ámul.

Abu'l-Khuḍayb chose as his guide a certain ᶜAmr (? ᶜUmar) b. ᶜAlá, who had, on account of a murder which he had committed in Gurgán, taken refuge with the Ispahbad, under whose protection he had lived for a long while, during which time he had obtained full knowledge of the country, and of all its roads, fords and passes. But now he had joined himself to the Caliph's troops, and was sent with 2000 horsemen to attack Ámul (f. 87*a*). The Marzubán of this city, who held his office from the Ispahbad, came out to meet him in battle; but he was slain, and Ámul was occupied by ᶜUmar b. ᶜAlá, who proclaimed a just administration to all the inhabitants, and invited them to embrace

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Islám. And the people, being, as already said, disgusted wlth the Ispahbad's arrogance, came in in crowds, embraced Islám, and surrendered up their arms and possessions. Shortly after this, news of the death of ʿAbdu'l-Jabbár arrived, and the invaders, being no longer anxious about Khurásán, settled down in Ṭabaristán.

Now on the top of Darband-i-Kúla near the road to Áram there is a palace (طاق), now known as ʿÁ'isha Kargílí Dizh, where ten years' supply of water was stored up in reservoirs, with corn, bread, and other provisions, and which could be approached only by one gate of solid stone which it required 500 men to open and 500 men to shut; and when it was shut, no one could detect its position. There the Ispahbad Khurshíd placed his wives, children, nobles, and other dependents, while he himself, with his retainers and a few loads of gold, sent out for Daylam by way of Láriján to obtain reinforcements.

The Muslim army, on learning his movements, set out in pursuit, but he reached Rúyán with the loss of only a few men and animals, and thence pushed on to Daylam, where he remained for two years and seven months, while the Muslims besieged his stronghold, until he had gathered together 50,000 men of Gíl and Daylam. But the plague attacked his stronghold, and in one day 400 persons died, and such was the stench of their bodies that the garrison were obliged to capitulate to the Muslims, who spent seven days in bringing the stores and treasures out of the Castle. Then they prepared to send the women, with all respect and honour, to the Caliph. The Muslim general desired Ázarmí-Dukht and Ramja Harúya to surrender themselves to him, but they both refused. Of Khurshíd's daughters, who were as beautiful as the moon, he gave one to ʿAbbás b. Muḥammad al-Háshimí, who named her Amatu'r-Raḥmán ("the Hand-maiden of the All-Merciful"), while another the Ca-

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liph himself took. All of them urged the Caliph to give the kingdom of Ṭabaristán to their father, and to this the Caliph consented, and despatched a messenger with orders to this effect, but he got no further than Ḥulwán, for the Ispahbad Khurshíd, filled with despair at the disaster which had befallen him, and unable to bear the disgrace, took poison and died. With him ended the line of Jílánsháh, which had reigned in Ṭabaristán for 119 years.

Account of the governors and rulers who were sent from Baghdad to rule over Ṭabaristán after the extirpation of the Line of Jílánsháh.

The first ʿAbbásid governor of Ṭabaristán was the already-mentioned Abu'l-Khuḍayb, and the first building erected there by the Muslims was the Great Mosque of Sárí, which he caused to be built on a Monday in the month of Ábán in the year A. H. 140 (A. D. 757—8), on which date Ámul was occupied and Ṭabaristán practically conquered by the Muslims. Abu'l-Khuḍayb was governor for two years, and was succeeded by Abú Khuzayma, who settled armed garrisons throughout the country as follows: in Tammísha 1000 Arabs under Fakhr b. ʿAbdu'lláh al-Khuzáʿí; in Rúdbár, two parasangs from Tammísha, 500 men under Rabíʿ b. ʿUrwán; in Kúsán 300 men under Abu'l-ʿAmmár al-ʿAtíqí; in Asrámíl 500 men under Ibráhím b. Isḥáq ash-Shámí; in Sámta 500 men under Kirmán al-Bukhárí; in Kúsán 500 men of Khurásán under Núḥ (بن الساسف); in Dizwán in the district of Panjáh-hazár 1000 men under Jílí b. Saʿd al-Marwazí; in Dú-Áb 500 men under ʿUmar b. Saʿíd; in Mihrawán 1000 men under Khalaf b. ʿAbdu'lláh; in Aṣram 500 [1] men; in Azdara 300 men under Ziyád b. Ḥázim [2]; in

[1] B. "300".

[2] B. "Jázim".

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Awsarzín 1000 [1] men under Khalífa b. حليه; in Awrárábád above Parícha 500 [2] men; in Rawá 300 men under Walíd b. Maysara; in the city of Sárí 1000 men; in Artá 500 men of Ṭabaristán; in Kaskarúd [3] 500 men under Muḥammad b. Náʾib; in Khurramábád 1000 men under ʿAbduʾlláh b. Sayf; in Chamanú [4] 1000 men under Miskín b. Ghazál ash-Shámí; in Firím 500 men under Khalífa b. Bahrám; in Yazdánábád 500 men under ʿUmar b. ʿAlá; in Kúlá 300 men under Nasrín b. as-Sunqur; in Mámṭír 1000 men under Salám b. Qudáma (f. 88*a*); in Sáliyán near Lufúr 1000 men; in Níshápúriyya 300 men under Ibn Salma al-Qáʾid of Níshápúr; in Ṭábarán 500 men under Muḥammad b. ʿAbbás as-Salmí; in Isfandiyár 3000 men; in Tarícha 1500 men under Muslim b. Khálid; in Fatḥ ... (فتح فصلب) [5] 500 men from Nisá and Báward; in Jábarán 300 men under Muḥammad b. ʿAbduʾlláh; in Masla Zarrín Kúl, 1000 men; in Ámul 3000 men under the officers, allies and magistrates of the Caliph; in Jílánábád above Rán-Kúh 1000 men under Naṣr b. ʿImrán of Khurásán; in Pá-yi-Dasht 500 men under ʿÁmir b. Ádam; in Haláwán 500 men, first under al-Muthanná b. al-Ḥajjáj, and then under Muḥammad b. ʿAfál; in Nátil 500 men under Saʿd b. Maymún; in Bahrám Dih 500 men under ʿUmar b. Bahrám ʿIsá; in Qará-Ṭughán of Bálá-ráh, 500 men under Yúsuf b. ʿAbduʾr-Raḥmán; in Wáláshjird 800 men under ʿAlí b. Jastán; in Kajwúhí Qaṣabatuʾr-Rúyán 6000 men under ʿUmar b. al-ʿAlá; in Júrishjird-Saʿídábád 500 men under Saʿíd b. ʿUmar b. al-ʿAlá; in Kalár, the beginning of Daylam, 1000 men; in the Highlands (*Kúhistán*) of Júparm (؟جوبرم) 1000 Arabs; and in as-Saʿídí 500 men.

After a year [؟ Abuʾl-Khuzayma] was dismissed, and re-

[1] B. "500".
[2] B. "1000".
[3] A. "Jangrúd".
[4] B. "Khambú".
[5] So A. and C. B. فتح فصلب.

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placed by Rúḥ b. Ḥátim b. Qayṣar b. al-Muhallab, who was made governor in A. H. 144 (= A. D. 761—2), but a year later, being convicted of tyranny and injustice, he was replaced by Khálid b. Barmak, who took up his abode at a place called after him Khálida-Saráy. He also built for himself a palace at Ámul, and ruled for four years, building many public buildings and developing the resources of the country, until at the end of this period he was replaced by ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlá, during whose governorship the Caliph al-Manṣúr died, and was succeeded by (f. 88*b*) his son al-Mahdí. He, being informed that ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlá had sought the hand of the daughter of Mihrúya in marriage, was angered against him and dismissed him. Saʿíd b. Daʿlaj succeeded him as governor, and held this position for three years. At this period a Sayyid of the House of Abú Ṭálib named Ḥusayn b. ʿAlí, commonly called صاحب فخّ, revolted in the Ḥijáz, and was joined by many other Sayyids. The Caliph sent Músá b. ʿĪsá and Sirrí b. ʿAbdu'lláh al-ʿAbbásí, with other *Amírs* and officers, to fight him. The Battle took place at Fakhkh, and the Sayyid was slain, together with many of his companions. Some few, however, escaped, and made their way to al-Madína, where Músá b. ʿĪsá was holding his court and audience, at which, to avert suspicion of disaffection, most of the chief men of al-Madína were present. Presently Músá b. ʿAbdu'lláh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlí b. ʿAbí Ṭálib, who had escaped from the battle, came in, clad in a course woollen cuirass (مدرعة), slashed with sword-cuts, and sandals of camel's skin, and sat down in the lowest place. Immediately afterwards the Imám Músá b. Jaʿfar al-Kádhim entered. Músá b. ʿĪsá rose to meet him, and caused him to sit in an honourable place. Sirrí b. ʿAbdu'lláh al-ʿAbbásí turned to Músá b. ʿAbdu'lláh b. al-Ḥasan and said, "What dost thou think of the stricken field of rebellion and treachery? Why dost thou not withhold thy

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hand from such deeds, that thy cousins (meaning the ʿAbbásids) might enrich thee and treat thee with honour?" Músá replied, "Our relation towards you is like what has been said in this verse:"

بَنِى عَمِّنَا رُدُّوا فُضُولَ دِمَائِنَا يَنَمْ لَيْلُكُمْ أَوْلَا يَلُمْنَ ٱللَّوَائِمُ

"Good!" exclaimed Sirrí; "it is even so: naught accrues to you save abasement and humiliation. If you would only be quiet as is your cousin here, Músá b. Jaʿfar, notwithstanding all his learning, piety, nobility and ascetic life (f. 89*a*), would it not be better?" Thereupon Músá b. ʿAbdu'lláh extemporised the following verses:

فَإِنَّ ٱلْأُلَى تُثْنِى عَلَيْهِمْ بِقِيَّتِى أُولَاكَ بَنُو عَمِّى وَ عَمُّهُمْ أَبِى
وَإِنَّكَ إِنْ تَمْدَحْهُمْ بِمَدِيحَةٍ تُصَدَّقْ وَ إِنْ نَمْدَحْ أَبَاكَ نُكَذَّبِ

Now since the Caliph al-Mahdí was preoccupied with these matters, Saʿíd b. Daʿlaj remained two years and three months as Governor of Ṭabaristán ere he was recalled, and ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlá was again sent to replace him. He it was who built the village of ʿAmr (? *ʿUmar*) Kaláda, situated near Wana-bun, as well as another town called ʿUmar (? Amr)-ábád. In this year there was a great earthquake; and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal declared at Baghdad that heavier taxes should be imposed on the people of Ṭabaristán, as well as a 10% tithe on cereals, because the country had not surrendered willingly, but had been taken by force. A year later ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlá was replaced by Yaḥyá b. Mikhnáq (B. محتاق), who dealt gently with the people, till he was in turn replaced by ʿAbdu'l-Ḥamíd Maḍrúb, who vexed the people with new and oppressive taxes.

Rule of the sons of Súkhrá and revolt of Wandád Hurmuzd.

Then arose Wandád Hurmuzd, the son of Alandá, the

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son of Qárin, the son of Súkhrá, who has been already mentioned in speaking of the *Garsháhs* (*Farsháhs*) or kings of the Mountains; for the word *Far* (or *Gar*) is applied to mountain-land susceptible of cultivation, and Gáw-bára had given this land to this family, who had held it for a hundred years. Now the inhabitants of Ummídwár-Kúh came to Wandád Hurmuzd to complain of the tyranny and exactions of the Caliph's governors, promising him their support if he would rebel against them, whereby they might escape from the tyranny which was crushing them down, and he might recover the authority enjoyed by his ancestors. He answered them that he must first consult with (f. 89*b*) the Ispahbad Sharwín, the king of the Mountains, and seek for the support of the Mas-mughán Walásh; and that if these consented to help him, he would revolt against the Caliph. So he sent messengers to Sharwín at Shahriyár-kúh in Farím, and to the Mas-mughán at Mayándarúd, both of whom agreed to help him, and encouraged him in his enterprise. A day was then fixed on which the people of Ṭabaristán should make a general massacre of all the Arabs and servants of the Caliph. This was done; and so thoroughly were the Ṭabaristánís in accord that women who were married to followers of the Caliph dragged them out of their houses by their beards, and delivered them over to the executioners, so that in all Ṭabaristán not an Arab was left. When Ḥammál b. ʿUmar ad-Duhalí and Khálid b. Barmak, whom the Caliph had sent to Ray, received news of this, they despatched tidings to Baghdad, and al-Mahdí sent Sálim of Farghána, one of his most trusted officers, whom he had nick-named "the Devil of Farghána" to enquire into and report on the matter. On learning the truth, the Caliph exclaimed, "Is there no one who will go to Ṭabaristán and bring me the head of Wandád Hurmuzd?" Sálim offered himself, and the Caliph despatched him with a fol-

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lowing of brave and hardy soldiers. On arriving in Ṭabaristán, he encamped in the plain of Aṣram, where Wandád Hurmuzd came to meet him, accompanied by a great host. Sálim was mounted on a favourite piebald horse, well known throughout ʿIráq-i-ʿArab. He at once rode at Wandád Hurmuzd and smote at him with his great mace, which weighed twenty maunds, splitting the shield with which he sought to parry the blow (f. 90*a*), but nor succeeding in inflicting on him any further injury. At dusk they ceased from battle, and Wandád Hurmuzd and his men encamped at Hurmuzdábád. Next day they fell to banqueting and drinking. Wandád Hurmuzd had a black horse, which had on its neck a curious mole, and which was of incomparable excellence. This he had saddled with a golden saddle and caparisoned with jewelled trappings, and when it was brought before him he said, "O people, know that this is our antagonist whom ye have seen, and whose pomp and power ye have witnessed. And ye are all of you the bravest men of Ṭabaristán. Which of you will take this caparisoned horse and do battle with him?" Thrice he made this appeal, and no one responded to it, until at last one of his sons, a lad named Wandá-ummíd, and called Khudáwand-i-Kalálak, advanced, kissed the ground, and said, "By thy good fortune I am he who shall bring thee thine enemy's head; and for this I desire nothing but the horse." "When," said Wandád Hurmuzd, "hast thou contended with warriors and taken part in such contests?" The lad, however, persisted in his resolve, in spite of the attempts to dissuade him made by his father and his maternal uncle Qúhyár, who was finally bidden to accompany his nephew, notwithstanding his weakness and old age. The bravest men were chosen to accompany them, and a cow-herd named Ardashírak Báblúraj (f. 90*b*), who knew all the intricacies of the thickets and forests, was sent to lead them by secret paths against

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Sálim, who, being taken by surprise, was slain by Wandá-ummíd in single combat, at Harsa-mál, three parasangs from Ámul, or, as some say, at Aṣram, at the place now called Hí-Hí-Kayán. So the lad Wandá-ummíd came back in triumph to his father, Wandád-Hurmuzd, and was received by him with great honour and rejoicing, and ever afterwards permitted to sit beside him on his golden throne. And Sálim was esteemed by the Caliph as equivalent in value to a thousand horsemen [1].

Account of the war with Firásha.

When the news of the death of Sálim reached the Caliph, he was greatly vexed, and despatched another army of 10,000 men under an Amír named Firásha against Ṭabaristán, at the same time sending messages to Khálid-i-Barmakí, Ward-i-Aṣfar ("Yellow Rose") and Ḥammád at Ray, bidding them afford him any help of which he might stand in need. So Firásha, re-inforced by further levies, advanced to Áram, meeting with no resistance, for Wandád Hurmuzd had ordered that none should oppose them or contest their advance, so that they might wax bold and careless (f. 91*a*). He himself retired to Kúlá, near which, at Gawázúnú, he constructed two great dykes (*dar-band*), one above and one below. Then he sent to the Ispahbad Sharwín, who was at Parím and Kamímnám, bidding him come and help him; but Sharwín delayed and procrastinated so that Firásha was convinced of his weakness and helplessness. Wandád Hurmuzd had prepared 400 trumpets and 400 drums, and he assembled at Gawázúnú all his kinsmen and trusted warriors, whom he drew up in two ranks, with 4000 of his people, both men and women, to each of whom

[1] *i. e.* he held the rank and title of Hazár-mard.

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he gave an axe. He then explained to them his plan, which was that he himself should advance a little way towards the enemy with a hundred men, but that as soon as he had been seen by Firásha and his troops, he should fall back, followed by the enemy, whom he would thus lure within the two silent lines of his followers. Then, when they were all within the ambush, he would beat a drum; and at this sign all his followers were to begin to blow the 400 trumpets, beat the 400 drums, and fell trees with the 4000 axes. All this was duly carried out; and when the troops of Firásha heard this turmoil and uproar, they were filled with consternation, and were easily routed. Firásha himself was taken captive, and brought before the Ispahbad, who ordered his head to be struck off, and himself put on his cloak, cap, belt and sword; but quarter was accorded to the remaining prisoners. At this juncture the Ispahbad Sharwín arrived, and was given one third of the spoils (f. 91*b*). Wandád Hurmuzd related to his son Qárin that he had dreamed that he slew a wolf; that after this another wolf came and was also slain by him; that thereafter a leopard came, and he slew it, cut off its head, and clothed himself in its skin; and that last of all a lion came and grappled with him, and wounded him with its claws, until at last with a great effort he freed himself from it. The first wolf was Taym b. Sinán; the second, Khalífa b. Mihrán; the leopard, in whom skin Wandád clothed himself, was Firásha; and the lion was Yazíd b. Marthad.

When the news of Firásha's death reached the Caliph al-Mahdí, he sent to Ṭabaristán Rúḥ b. Ḥátim, a tyrant of evil life, concerning whose dismissal from office Abú Jaysh al-Hiláli said:

رَاحَ رُوحٌ مِنْ آمُلٍ فَٱسْتَرَاحُوا[1] وَ أَتَاهَا بَعْدَ ٱلْفَسَادِ ٱلصَّلَاحُ

[1] MS. فلستراح.

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لَمْ يَزَلْ سَبْيُهُ ٱلْحَرَائِرَ حَتَّى شَاعَ فِى ٱلنَّاسِ وَ ٱسْتُحِلَّ ٱلسِّفَاحُ

He was succeeded by Khálid b. Barmak, who maintained friendly relations with Wandád Hurmuzd, and allowed him to possess the highlands in peace. When he was dismissed and was leaving Ámul, a tradesman who was standing near at hand said, "Praise be to God that we are delivered from thy tyranny." This was reported to Khálid, who caused the tradesman to be brought before him, and reproached him and struck off his head. Thence he proceeded to Sárí, where the people came out to meet him with presents; and he abode there for a time, bestowing many gifts on the people.

He was succeeded by ʿAmr b. ʿAlá, who fought with Wandád Hurmuzd, took from him his highland domains (f. 92*a*), and pressed him so hard that he was unable to dwell any longer in the cultivated lands, but was driven into the forests. So his affairs continued to grow worse, until one day one of his followers was taken captive and brought before ʿAmr b. ʿAlá, who ordered him to be beheaded; but the man prayed for mercy, promising in return to bring the Amír the head of Wandád Hurmuzd. The Amír asked what surety he proposed to give for the due performance of his promise. "This blanket," replied the man, "which I wear on my back." The Amír laughed and said, "If he is faithful to his promise, it will be like the bow of Ḥájib b. Zurára at-Tamímí and Kisrá." Concerning this story, which is well known and need not be repeated here, a poet says:

وَ كُلُّ وَفَاءٍ كَانَ فِى قَوْسِ حَاجِبٍ
وَ أَنْتَ جَمَعْتَ ٱلْغَدْرَ فِى قَوْسِ حَاجِبِ

"And I," added the Amír, "will deal with him as Kisrá dealt with Ḥájib b. Zurára." So they kept him a prisoner as they advanced, until he said, "Do you remain here that

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I may go and get news and return." So he went away, and Wandád Hurmuzd prepared an ambush for the Muslims and slew most of them. ʿAmr b. ʿAlá escaped with a few followers, and the Caliph al-Mahdí, angered at his defeat, sent Taym b. Sinán, who made peace with Wandád Hurmuzd.

Then the Caliph sent Yazíd b. Marthad, who fought against Wandád Hurmuzd, conquered him, slew many of his followers, and occupied the whole country; till finally, meeting him in single combat, he wounded him severely, and Wandád Hurmuzd, accompanied only by a few followers, became a fugitive in the forests.

After this the Caliph al-Mahdí sent his son Músá al-Hádí to Gurgán, and to him Wandád Hurmuzd surrendered on promise of pardon; whereupon Músá wrote to Yazíd b. Marthad bidding him give up the highlands to him. Thence, taking Wandád Hurmuzd with him, he marched back through ʿIráq to Baghdad. On the way thither he received news of the death of his father al-Mahdí; so he hastened on to Baghdad and was formally invested with the title of Caliph. Soon afterwards the younger brother of Wandád Hurmuzd (f. 92*b*) Wandásafán beheaded Bahrám b. Fírúz, who, at the Caliph's persuasion, had embraced Islám. The Caliph thereupon summoned Wandád Hurmuzd before him and ordered him to be beheaded at once; but he craved mercy, declaring that his brother's sole object in killing the Caliph's servant was to rid himself of him, since he reckoned on the Caliph avenging himself on Wandád-Hurmuzd, and hoped thereby to inherit the highlands of Ṭabaristán. "Therefore," he concluded, "if the Caliph desires that he should attain his object, let him kill me; but if not, let him send me to bring him or his head to the Caliph." Both ʿIsá b. Máhán and Murád b. Muslim were present, and both exclaimed: "Why should the Commander of the

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Faithful forbid this? This is the best plan." So the Caliph despatched Wandád Hurmuzd with a robe of honour and the necessary equipment. On reaching Ṭabaristán, he prostrated himself on the earth in thankfulness, and sent a message to Wandásafán bidding him keep in hiding and avoid him at all hazards; and he continued to pretend to pursue him till, on one night, Músá al-Hádí died, Hárúnu'r-Rashíd became Caliph, and al-Ma'mún was born.

Harúnu'r-Rashíd was an obstinate, warlike, masterful and self-willed Caliph, and he despatched Sulaymán b. Músá to Ṭabaristán, where he was governor for eight months, when he was replaced by Hádí b. Hání, a mild and just governor, who maintained friendly relations with Wandád Hurmuzd, and kept the country tranquil and quiet. He was succeeded by ʿAbdu'lláh b. Qaḥṭaba, and he in turn by ʿUthmán b. Nahík, who built the Great Mosque of Ámul. Next came Saʿíd b. Salma b. Qutayba b. Muslim, who was replaced after six months by Ḥammál and ʿAbdu'lláh, the sons of ʿAbdu'l-ʿAzíz. Ten months later, in A. H. 179 (= A. D. 795—6) these were superseded by Muthanná b. al-Ḥajjáj (f. 93*a*), who remained one year, and repaired the walls of Ámul and Sárí, which were afterwards destroyed by Mázyár. And after him came ʿAbdu'lláh b. Ḥázim.

The Rebellion of the people of Rustamdár.

The deputy of this last governor, who was named Salám and nicknamed *Siyáh Mard* ("the Black Man"), was expelled from his province, and entered into a league with the Daylamites. There was at Kalár a very beautiful woman, whom they seized, in order to create trouble; but she cast herself into a stream and drowned herself. The deputy-governor of ʿAbdu'lláh was at Kajú, and, on hearing of this, he at once hastened to Jálús, when there was a judge named

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Ṣudám who was accused of being the cause of the mischief, and who fled into hiding. The deputy-governor caused proclamation to be made throughout the country that whoever should find this judge and give him quarter would be no longer accounted a Muslim, but would be reckoned an outlaw. At length the judge was captured by the people and bound to a tree for three days and nights; and Salám ordered that all the people of that district should come in, so that he might fulfil their desires and grant their wishes. So they came in, hopeful and jubilant; but he shut them all up in houses, and set sentries over them. It was then the month of Ramaḍán, and in the evening, before he had performed the evening prayer, he mounted his horse, broke his fast in the saddle with some bread and a few bunches of grapes plucked from a neighbouring garden, and had his prisoners brought out one by one from their confinement and decapitated. This work of slaughter went on all night by candle-light, and when morning dawned not one of the prisoners was left alive. Then he said, "I am like this candle; as it burns itself to give light to you, so have I cast myself into torment to make the country safe for you." Thence he went to Saʿíd-ábád, drove the people out of their fortifications by assault, slew then all, and destroyed the village, till at length Hárúnu'r-Rashíd dismissed him from his government, and appointed Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá b. Khálid al-Barmakí and his brother Músá to succeed him, while their brothers Faḍl b. Yaḥyá and Jaʿfar were the Caliph's ministers at Baghdad (f. 93*b*). The two former ruled oppressively over Ṭabaristán, confiscating every estate and seizing every beautiful woman just as they pleased; and none dared make complaint against them to the Caliph for fear of the influence wielded by their brothers at the court. At length Hárún's anger was aroused against Jaʿfar, and he ordered the family of the Barmecides to be

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destroyed. Concerning the cause of his anger, two separate traditions are recorded in history.

Cause of the Extirpation of the Barmecides.

When Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, wishing to be able to enjoy the society of his sister ᶜAbbása and Jaᶜfar the Barmecide at the same time, married them to one another on the condition that this marriage was to be a marriage in name only, ᶜAbbása was unable to control her love for Jaᶜfar, and wrote to him:

عَزَمْتُ عَلَى قَلْبِي بِأَنْ يَكْتُمَ ٱلْهَوَى فَضَجَّ وَ نَادَى انَّنِي غَيْرُ فَاعِلِ
فَزُرْنِي وَ إِلَّا بُحْتُ بِٱلْحُبِّ عَنْوَةً وَ إِنْ عَنَّفَتْنِي فِي هَوَاكَ عَوَاذِلِي
وَ إِنْ حَانَ مَوْتِي لَمْ أَدَعْكَ بِغُصَّتِي وَ أَقْرَرْتُ قَبْلَ ٱلْمَوْتِ أَنَّكَ قَاتِلِي

So Jaᶜfar, fearing to offend ᶜAbbása, gave her the love she sought, and the result of this union was a child whom they called Ḥaml ᶜÁ'isha. It is related on the authority of Nawfalí that in A. H. 180 (= A. H. 796—7) Hárúnu'r-Rashíd went on the pilgrimage, and received tidings of this event on the journey, but made no sign of pleasure or displeasure, until he returned and reached Buḥayra, where he embarked in a skiff with Jaᶜfar to go fishing. On his return from this expedition he proceeded to Ambár, where he said to Jaᶜfar, "Today I shall be with my *ḥaram*, and I give you permission to go to your family and amuse yourself as you will." All day Hárún kept sending him presents, until, when the time of evening prayer was at hand, the blind minstrel Abú Rakáz sang these verses:

فَلَا تَبْعَدْ فَكُلُّ فَتًى سَيَأْتِي عَلَيْهِ ٱلْمَوْتُ يَطْرُقُ أَوْ يُغَادِي
وَ كُلُّ ذَخِيرَةٍ لَا بُدَّ يَوْمًا وَ إِنْ بَقِيَتْ تَصِيرُ إِلَى نَفَادِ
فَلَوْ فُودِيتَ مِنْ حَدَثِ ٱلْمَنَايَا فَدَيْتُكَ بِٱلتِّلِيدِ[1] وَ بِٱلتِّلَادِ

[1] C. بالطّريف.

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Jaʿfar said to Abú Rakáz, "What song is this to sing before men?" He replied, "O my master, however much I strive, I can think of no other verses." While they were thus conversing, suddenly Masrúr the executioner entered without seeking permission, for the Caliph had sent him to cut off Jaʿfar's head and bring it to him. When Jaʿfar saw him, he sprang to his feet and cried, "O Abú Háshim, I rejoice that thou art come to me, but am sorry that thou didst enter without seeking permission." "I am come," said Masrúr, "on a weighty errand: submit thyself to the command of the Prince of Believers." Jaʿfar fell at his feet, saying, "Suffer me to go into the house and perform my ablutions." "It is out of the question," replied Masrúr, "that you should go to the house, but make such testamentary dispositions as you please." So Jaʿfar set free his slaves and made his will and performed his ablutions; and then Masrúr mounted him on a horse and brought him to the prison. Jaʿfar then conjured him to go and tell the Caliph that he had brought him thither, that perhaps he might repent. To this Masrúr consented; but no sooner did Hárúnu'r-Rashíd hear his advancing footsteps than he called out to him, "Stop there! For if thou comest hither without the head of Jaʿfar, thine own head shall be forfeit!" So Masrúr turned back and cut off Jaʿfar's head, and brought it on a shield to the Caliph, who at once ordered Yaḥyá b. Khálid and Faḍl to be cast into prison, and the body of Jaʿfar to be hanged on the bridge at Anbár. But afterwards Hárún was sorry for what he had done, and wandered through the palace reciting these verses:

يَا مَنْ تَبَاشَرَتِ ٱلْقُبُورُ بِمَوْتِهِ قَصَدَ ٱلزَّمَانُ بِسَهْمِهِ فَرَمَاكَا
حَلَّ ٱلْبُكَاءُ فَطَالَ بَعْدَكَ حُزْنُهُ لَوْ يَسْتَطِيعُ بِمُلْكِهِ لَفَدَاكَا
أَبْغِي ٱلْأَنِيسَ فَلَا أَرَى لِي مُؤْنِسًا إِلَّا ٱلتَّرَدُّدَ حَيْثُ كُنْتُ أَرَاكَا

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The other account, given by al-Aṣmaᶜí in his *Kitábu ʾn-Nawádir*, on the authority of Abú ᶜAbdiʾlláh (f. 94*b*) al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlí b. Hishám, is as follows. "When al-Maʾmún succeeded to the Caliphate," says the narrator, "I enquired of Faḍl b. Rabiᶜ, who was Hárúnuʾr-Rashíd's chief chamberlain, 'Was this matter of ᶜAbbása the only cause of the slaughter of the Barmecides, or had they committed any other fault?' Faḍl b. Rabíᶜ smiled and said: سَقَطْتَ على الخبير بها: ('Thou hast fallen on him who is best acquainted with it'). This Faḍl was unequalled in understanding, and from him Hárúnuʾr-Rashíd had no secrets. It is related that when al-Maʾmún obtained possession of Baghdad, Faḍl was brought before him as a prisoner, with his hands bound behind him. Al-Maʾmún looked at him to see whether he would say anything, or apologize, or crave forgiveness; but he did not raise his eyes from the ground and maintained complete silence. "Was it in such wise," at length exclaimed al-Maʾmún, "that thou dids't order the affairs of two Caliphs?" "O Prince of Believers," replied Faḍl, "my tongue spoke to grant requests, not to crave them." So al-Maʾmún, being pleased with his answer, forgave him, and ordered him to be escorted to his house with candles and lanterns. But he said, "O Prince of Believers, suffer me rather to go lighted by the light of thine approval!" Later, when he was sick, al-Maʾmún sent a messenger to enquire after his health, and to say, "I am well pleased with thee, therefore ask me what thou wilt." He replied, "I stand more in need of God's good pleasure than of thine, and more in need of health than of thy abundant possessions."

Now according to this Faḍl, the cause of Hárún's anger against the Barmecides was that he had entrusted to Jaᶜfar a son of Yaḥyá b. Zayd to keep him in safe custody. One day while drinking wine he said to Jaᶜfar, "Go, and bring the lad hither." "Why dost thou want him at such a time?"

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enquired Jaʿfar. Then Hárún cried out at him in anger, and he arose and brought in the Sayyid. Hárún caused him to be seated, and then said to him, "O cousin, knowest thou wherefore I have sent for thee?" "The Prince of Believers knoweth best," replied the other. "You pretend," said Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, "that you are more worthy than we of this office, being more closely (f. 95*a*) and particularly related to the Prophet. Now you must have some proof for this pretention, and this you must make known to me." "God forbid!" replied the son of Yaḥyá: "we have never said and will never say such a thing as this!" "Thou liest!" answered Hárún: "you have advanced such claims, and to-night you must needs substantiate them." So the Sayyid continued to deny and the Caliph, with drunken insistence, to assert, until the latter had finally work himself up into a rage. Then Jaʿfar intervened and said to the son of Yaḥyá, "The Prince of Believers is holding a scientific discussion with you, and questions you with such courtesy and kindness; why then do you decline to discuss the matter, or to answer him?" "If I should answer," replied the Sayyid, "who will guarantee my safety?" Then the Caliph wrote him an assurance of safety in his own hand, swearing that he would neither slay, not hang, not poison him; and placed this document in his hands. "Now," said the Sayyid, "what dost thou ask of me?" "The proof," said Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, "that you are worthier than we are." "We are more worthy," replied the Sayyid, "as being nearer of kin." "Nay," said the Caliph, "we are in this respect equal." "Not so," answered the Sayyid. "By what proof?" demanded the Caliph. "If Muḥammad the Apostle of God were alive," said the Sayyid, "and should seek alliance with thee through a sister or a daughter, would'st thou consent or not?" "Yes," answered Hárún, "why should I not accept so worthy an alliance?" "I would not," re-

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joined the Sayyid, "and it would be improper for me to do so." Hárún was silent for a while, and then made a sign to Jaᶜfar to remove the Sayyid, which he did. Some while afterwards the Caliph summoned Jaᶜfar and said, "I am going to entrust you with a commission in which you must by no means fail me." "It is for the Prince of Believers to command," replied Jaᶜfar. "Place thy hand on my head," said the Caliph, "and swear to accomplish my behest." When Jaᶜfar had done this, Hárún said, "I gave the son of Yaḥyá an assurance of safety against steel and poison and strangling, but not against burial. You must therefore dig a deep pit, exceeding fifty yards in depth, and must cast him into that pit alive." So Jaᶜfar went, dismissed the guardians [of the Sayyid] and caused a deep pit to be dug (f. 95*b*), into which he cast not the Sayyid but a sheep. Then he explained to the Sayyid the state of the case, and bade him flee beyond the Caliph's realms. So he fled in disguise to Khurásán, but was recognized in the market of Balkh by a certain officer of the postal service named al-Masᶜúdí, who performed the journey thence to Baghdad in thirty days, and informed the Caliph of what he had seen. So the Caliph wrote to ᶜAlí b. ᶜIsá, who was governor of Balkh, bidding him seek out the Sayyid, who, however, had meanwhile made his escape into Turkistán. Then the Caliph sent an ambassador to the Kháqán of Turkistán, bidding him surrender up the Sayyid. The Kháqán answered, "We know not this man: send some one who can recognize him, and we will hand him over to you." So Hárún sent another messenger who knew the Sayyid, and all the Sayyids who were in that country were assembled in his presence; and when his eye lighted on the son of Yaḥyá, he said, "This is the man." But when he brought him to the Kháqán, the latter bade the Sayyid sit down beside him, and said to the messenger, "I also was seeking

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for him, my object being to protect him from all the world. Arise, and depart in peace." So the ambassador returned in despair, and told the Caliph what had passed. Then the Caliph determined to avenge himself on Jaʿfar. Now it was his custom to visit his sister ʿAbbása every Tuesday, and on these occasions he would neither see anyone nor receive any letter or petition. "One Tuesday," says the narrator, "when I was alone with him, he bade me be seated, and said, 'I am going to tell you a secret which you must on no account divulge.' On my promising secrecy, he continued, 'I am going to destroy Jaʿfar.' At this juncture Jaʿfar himself entered. I arose and went to meet him. The Caliph caused him to sit down beside him, till, when they had discussed various topics, he arose (f. 96*a*) and went to the house of ʿAbbása, while I remained with Jaʿfar. 'What were you and the Caliph talking about when I came in?' said he. 'He was instructing me,' I replied, 'how to deal with a certain rebel in Khurásán. 'O Faḍl,' he answered, "by God, thou liest; you were talking about me, and no good either, for when thine eyes fell on me the colour left thy face.' 'God forbid!' said I, 'how should the Caliph speak to me of thee, seeing the position that thou holdest before him?' But Jaʿfar persisted in his surmise, and I was afraid lest the Caliph should think I had given him a hint of what had been confided to me. When he went to his house, I arose and went to the house of ʿAbbása, where I demanded an audience. I was bidden to put in writing what I had to say, but, having declared that it could only be imparted by word of moath, was at length admitted and brought before the Caliph. I bowed my head to the ground and said, 'O Prince of Believers, mercy, mercy! Thou hast cast me into destruction!' 'Why, what ails thee?' he enquired: 'tell me quickly.' Then I told him what had passed, and he said, 'Have no anxiety on

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this score, for I have long known Jaᶜfar's acumen and discernment. Yesterday I was with him in the garden, and there was no one with us; and I was looking at the roses, when I saw one which pleased me more than all the others. At once Jaᶜfar stretched out his hand and gave it to me. Then he fell on his face before me, and when he raised his head from the ground I was smiling. "Wherefore," he enquired, "does the Prince of Believers smile?" I answered, "At your being able to tell which rose out of all these pleased me most." "By God," he replied, "that was not the reason, for you have often before proved my discernment. It was rather because, when I prostrated myself before you, your glance fall on my neck."' 'And by God,' added the Caliph, he spoke truly; for, as I looked at his neck, I said to myself, "How shall I order it to be cut with the sword?" and as I thought thus, I smiled.' Three days later the affair of the Barmecides was finished."

After this Jahḍam b. Khabáb was sent (f. 96*b*) as governor to Ṭabaristán, and after him Khalífa b. Saᶜd b. Hárún al-Jawharí, who, on reaching Ámul, appointed as his deputy Mihrúya of Ray, who took up his abode at Gurgán.

Account of the King of the Mountains the Ispahbad Sharwín Báwand and Wandád Hurmuzd.

These were in alliance with one another, so that from Tammísha to Rúyán without their permission no one dared enter the highlands from the plains, and all the highlands were under their control. And when a Muslim died, they wold not suffer him to be buried in their country. So matters continued until Khalífa b. Saᶜíd came to Sárí, and wished to make his cousin Náfiᶜ his deputy; and the Ispahbad Sharwín's men came down by night out of the hills and slew him. Khalífa remained at Sárí and wrote to Mih-

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rúya at Âmul bidding him be on his guard, as the people of Ṭabaristán were ripe for revolt. This letter Mihrúya read in public to the people, adding reproaches to the soldiers, who attacked his palace that night, slew him, cut off his head, and cast his mutilated corpse, with circumstances of atrocious dishonour, into the cross-roads of the market-place as a warning to all. So news was brought to the Caliph that the people of Ṭabaristán had revolted, but had not robbed the treasury; and he said, "It is not a revolt against us; this was an unjust governor, and it is quite right to suppress injustice." Then he sent ʿAbdu'lláh b. Saʿíd al-Jaríshí, and all the people went out to meet him, and brought him in with honour. He governed the country for four months, and succeeded in arresting four persons who were chiefly responsible for Mihrúya's death and the disturbance which accompanied it, and sent them to the Caliph, who inflicted punishment upon them.

In A. H. 187 (= A. D. 803) Jaʿfar b. Hárún (f. 97*a*) was sent to reorganize the land-tax and to survey the country in the territory occupied by Wandásafán, who slew him with a blow from his mace while he was thus employed. Forty men who were with him fled to ʿAbdu'lláh and informed him of what had happened, and he communicated the matter to the Caliph. Immediately after this it was rumoured that the Caliph had advanced into ʿIráq; and three days later ʿAbdu'lláh went to Sárí, whence he proceeded to Ray, where the Caliph was. The Caliph thereupon despatched the Qáḍí Abu'l-Buḥturí, ʿAbbás b. Zafr, Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl, and Ṣáliḥ b. Shaykh ʿUmayra, with 300 horsemen and servants, to the Isfahbad Sharwín and Wandád Hurmuzd to ascertain whether or no their loyalty could be relied on. They received this embassy with every mark of respect and friendship, and the ambassadors on their returned reported that what Wandásafán had done, he had done enti-

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rely on his own responsibility, without their knowledge or approval; and that he was, in fact, the enemy and opponent of Wandád Hurmuzd. Thereupon the Caliph left Ray, and encamped one day's march therefrom, at the village of Arbanú, whence he wrote to the Ispahbad Sharwín and Wandád Hurmuzd, bidding them come to him. They answered that they were his obedient and loyal vassals, but that before coming they must have hostages for his good faith. The Caliph was angered at this and said, "How shall I sent Muslim hostages to *Gabrs*?" So he sent the Qáḍí Abu'l-Buḥturí and Harthama b. A'yan and Abu'l-Waḍḍáḥ the post-master to them, bidding them either come before the Caliph or prepare for war. These advanced to Wíma, whence they sent messages to the Ispahbad Sharwín, who was at the Castle of Kúzá, and Wandád Hurmuzd, who was at Lafúr, bidding them come to them. Wandád Hurmuzd came, but the Ispahbad Sharwín sent excuses, saying that he was too ill to come. When the bearer of this message arrived, Wandád Hurmuzd said to the Caliph's ambassadors, "Whatever order you may issue in respect to the Ispahbad Sharwín, I am ready to obey it (f. 97*b*). Harthama b. A'yan agreed with Na'ím b. Ḥázim that they should smite Wandád Hurmuzd unawares while they were marching together, and slay him, since the Caliph would certainly be pleased at his death. But Wandád Hurmuzd, seeing Na'ím edging towards him, divined his intention, reined in his horse, and said, "You must hold to your agreement." His companions apologized, and made Na'ím swear that Wandád Hurmuzd should be conducted in safety before the Caliph. He remained with the Caliph for some time, till Hárúnu'r-Rashíd desired to buy some lands from him, which he refused to sell. They explained that his nobility of nature made him unwilling to sell lands which he might be willing to give as a present, so Hárún sent his little son al-Ma'mún to

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him; and when they had seated the child on his knee, Wandád Hurmuzd gave him all those lands which he had previously refused to sell; and Hárún presented him with a million *dirhams*, and a jewelled cup of priceless value, and a ring, with which last Wandád Hurmuzd was especially delighted. Then the Caliph bade him crave a boon, and he asked for the dismissal of ʿAbdu'lláh b. Saʿíd; and Hárún dismissed him with a robe of honour, and sent Harthama with him to bring back his son Qárin and the Ispahbad Sharwín's son Shahriyár as hostages. The former was entrusted to Harthama, but the Ispahbad Sharwín refused to give up his son Shahriyár, and sent another instead of him. But Harthama insisted that Shahriyár should be given up, and this decision was endorsed by the Caliph, so that the Ispahbad was compelled to surrender Shahriyár, whom Hárúnu'r-Rashíd took back with him to Baghdad.

Then the Caliph sent ʿAbdu'lláh b. Málik as governor to Ṭabaristán, and ordered that all the country except the highlands should be taken from the control of the Ispahbad Sharwín (f. 98*a*) and Wandád Hurmuzd. A year later the Caliph again visited Ray on his way to Khurásán. There he fell sick, and sent Shahriyár and Qárin to their respective fathers, while he marched on to Ṭús, and there died and was buried.

On this war arose between Hárún's two sons Muḥammad b. Zubayda, called *al-Makhlúʿ* ("the Deposed") and ʿAbdu'lláh al-Maʾmún; and Ṭáhir b. al-Ḥusayn, al-Maʾmún's general, marched on Baghdad, took it, and slew the rival Caliph, and sent his head to his brother al-Maʾmún, who looked on it and said:

شفيت النفس من حمل بن بدر،

So ʿAbdu'lláh al-Maʾmún became Caliph, and he was the greatest and most illustrious of all the ʾAbbásid Caliphs, and openly shewed his attachment to the Shíʿite cause. It is related

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that Sindí b. Sháhak, whose tomb is at Sárí in the place now called Bá Naṣrí Mashhad, and other Shí'ite leaders and partisans of the Imám Riḍá reproached al-Ma'mún for his conduct towards the Imám. Al-Ma'mún said, "I learned the Shí'ite faith from my father Hárúnu'r Rashíd." They replied, "He used to kill the members of this house." "Yes," replied al-Ma'mún, "he killed them for political reasons, 'for the state is a barren mother'" (لانّ الملك عقيم). And in like manner did al-Ma'mún himself act in compassing the death of the Imám 'Alí Riḍá for state reasons, preferring the transitory glory of this world to everlasting blessedness and felicity (f. 98*b*). And through the deed he did was done 400 years ago, men still reproach it in these verses:

بَاءُوا بِقَتْلِ ٱلرِّضَا مِنْ بَعْدِ بَيْعَتِهِ ... وَ أَبْصَرُوا بَعْضَ يَوْمٍ رُشْدَهُمْ وَ عَمُوا

لَا يُطْفِئَنَّ بَنِي ٱلْعَبَّاسِ مُلْكَهُمُ ... بنوا علىّ موالـيـهـم و ان زعموا

لا بَـيْـعَةٌ رَدَّعَتْهم عـن دمائهم ... و لا يمينٌ و لا قـربـى و لا ذمم

كم غدرةٍ لكم فى الدين واضحة ... و كـم دمٍ لـرسـول اللّه عـنـدكـم

Of such as these God says: "*Those who violate the Covenant of God after its confirmation, and sever what God hath commanded to be joined, and do evil in the earth: these are the losers.*"

After having thus rid himself of the Imám 'Alí Riḍá, al-Ma'mún sent for his son, whom the Shí'ites call Muḥammad Taqí, and the Arabs Muḥammad al-Jawád, and gave him his daughter Ummu'l-Faḍl in marriage, and made such a marriage-feast as the world hath never seen, for there were displayed as his gift to the bridegroom 400 plates filled with balls of ambergris in each of which was a pearl. And he then sent Muḥammad Taqí and his bride to al-Madína. And in the reign of al-Ma'mún died both the Ispahbad Sharwín and Wandád Hurmuzd.

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Account of the deaths of Sharwín and Wandád Hurmuzd, and the reigns of their sons Shahriyár and Qárin.

Sharwín left two sons, of whom Shahriyár, the ancestor of the Báwand princes, succeeded him, while Wandád Hurmuzd was succeeded by his son Qárin. When news of this reached al-Ma'mún, he sent to them (f. 99*a*) an ambassador with robes of honour, and wrote to inform them that he contemplated a campaign against the Byzantines, and needed the help of them and their captains. On one pretext and another they detained the ambassador for many days, until the Caliph had started on his campaign, when they dismissed him with many presents, saying, "The Ispahbad Shahriyár can in no wise come, but Qárin will follow you immediately." So Qárin made preparations for the expedition, aided therein by Shahriyár, and on reaching Byzantine territory pitched his camp beside that of the Caliph. It happened that on that very day there had been a battle, wherein the champions of either side had contended with one another on the field. Qárin at once caused his horse's armour to be put on, armed himself with a Gílání shield inlaid with gold, and with his followers attacked the Byzantine army, and utterly routed them. Al-Ma'mún was watching them, and kept enquiring of those who stood round who these valiant warriors might be, and who was their leader with the golden shield. None could tell him, but they continued to send re-inforcements to their strange allies, until Qárin ordered a general attack on the centre of the Byzantine army, broke down their standard with his mace, and entirely routed the foe. Summoned before the Caliph, he advanced clad in his breastplate and quilted armour (*qazz-ágand*), alighted from his horse, and kissed the Caliph's stirrup. Then the Caliph recognized him, and be-

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stowed on him a horse, and praised him greatly, conferring on him robes of honour and other tokens of his esteem. He kept him for some while in his service, and repeatedly urged him to embrace Islám so that they might confer on him the title of *Mawlá Amíri'l-Múminín* ("Client of the Prince of Believers") and make him governor of Ṭabaristán, but he refused, and was at length suffered to return to his country. But the Ispahbad Shahriyár was jealous of him and hated him, and, being the stronger, annexed many of his lands, to which acts of aggression he submitted. One night he dreamed that he made water on the summit of a lofty mountain, and from this water a fire came forth, and spread itself in every direction, and burned up the highlands, until it reached the plain, burning every tree on which it alighted. When he awoke, he summoned those skilled in the interpretation of dreams, and asked them its meaning. They answered, "From thy loins a son shall arise who will be king over both the mountains and the plains of Ṭabaristán, and who will be cruel and fierce and reckless." This dream and its interpretation became known through Ṭabaristán, and that very year was born his son Mázyár, and when he reached maturity his father Qárin died.

Then the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Sharwín coveted Mázyár's territory, and seized every occasion to vex and harrass him, until at length a battle was fought between them, Mázyár was defeated, and Shahriyár annexed his territories. Mázyár sought refuge with Wandá-ummíd the son of Wandásafán, but Shahriyár demanded his surrender, and Wandá-ummíd, not daring to resist his command, put Mázyár in chains, and sent a message to Shahriyár, bidding him send his men to take him into custody, since he feared that his own people might set him free. Meanwhile Mázyár succeeded in ingratiating himself with the wives of his gaolers, and by their means obtained his freedom, and fled to the forests, where

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he lay in hiding until he was able to go to ʿIráq (f. 100*a*). There he fell in with ʿAbdu'lláh b. Saʿíd al-Jurayshí, one of the Caliph's *Amírs*, who received him with kindness, and brought him with him to Baghdad. Now al-Ma'mún had an astrologer named Bizíst the son of Fírúzán, whose name the Caliph had arabicized into Yaḥyá b. [Abí] Manṣúr, and who has been already mentioned in the Preface of this book. One day Mázyár, carrying the table of his nativity in his sleeve, came to this astrologer, who at first paid no heed to him, until he heard him addressed as Prince of Ṭabaristán, Mázyár son of Qárin son of Wandád-Hurmuzd. When the astrologer heard this, he arose and offered his apologies for his neglect, and took the table of his nativity from him, and kissed it, and then began to examine it attentively. Then he turned all save Mázyár out of the room and said to Mázyár, "If I instruct thee, wilt thou shew thy gratitude for my help?" So Mázyár promised, confirming his promise with oaths. After some time the astrologer made known what he had discovered from the horoscope to al-Ma'mún, who summoned him into his presence and said: "The signal services rendered to me in the war with the Byzantines by thy father Qárin impel me to befriend thee, but this must depend on thine acceptance of Islám and utterance of the Muḥammadan profession of faith." So Mázyár accepted Islám, and al-Ma'mún gave him the title of *Mawlá Amíri'l-Múminín* and the *kunya* of Abu'l-Ḥasan.

Some months after this the Ispahbad Shahriyár died in Ṭabaristán, leaving many sons, amongst whom were Qárin b. Shahriyár b. Sharwín, called Abu'l-Mulúk ("the Father of kings"), and his elder brother Shápúr, who succeeded to the throne. But his vehemence and tyranny (f. 100*b*) disgusted his subjects, so that they deserted him, and complained of him to al-Ma'mún, who ordered Muḥammad b. Khálid to deprive him of his highland possessions. But this Muḥam-

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mad b. Khálid was not strong enough to do, and al-Ma'mún sought for some one else who would be able to crush Shápúr. The astrologer Bizíst happened to be present, and suggested Mázyár, remarking that his horoscope indicated him as likely to be successful in this enterprise. So al-Ma'mún sent him to subdue the highlands, and Músá b. Ḥafṣ to over-run the plains. The latter had been disgraced and dismissed by al-Ma'mún, but, by promising his support and co-operation to Mázyár, he induced him to ask the Caliph to make this appointment.

As soon as Mázyár reached Ṭabaristán, many of the people rallied to his standard, so that he soon found himself at the head of a large army, and marched on Farím to seek out Shápúr, whom he utterly routed, took captive, and put in chains, and then sent word to Músá announcing his victory. Now Shápúr, knowing that Mázyar intended to kill him, sent a secret message to Músá, offering him 100,000 *dirhams* if he would claim him as his own captive. Músá replied that he could best save himself by declaring himself a Muslim, and the client of the Caliph. But, being afraid lest Mázyár should discover his relations with Shápúr, he asked him what he would do if Shápúr should embrace Islám and offer for the Caliph's acceptance a sum of 100,000 *dirhams*. To this question Mázyár vouchsafed no answer, but that night he caused Shápúr to be beheaded, and next morning sent his head to Músá, who (f. 101*a*) was greatly enraged against him. So Mázyár, fearing lest the Caliph might send someone else instead of Músá to fight against him and subdue him, apologized for his conduct; and matters continued as they were in Ṭabaristán, until, at the end of four years, Músá died, and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad, to whom Mázyár paid no heed whatever, ruling undisturbed over highlands and plains alike. Shápúr's brother Qárin the son of Shahriyár, with all

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the House of Báwand and the Marzubáns and Farshwád the Marzubán of Tammísha, were filled with anger against him and complained of him to al-Ma'mún, who sent a summons to Mázyár to appear before him. He replied that he was engaged in a religious war against the Daylamites, and thereupon marched at the head of his army to Jálús and took hostages from the nobles of that country, so that they were compelled to submit to him. Al-Ma'mún then endeavoured to persuade him to come to Baghdad, and sent the astrologer Bizíst to him to bring him thither. Mázyár, being informed of this, collected all the armed men he could find round him, and sent Yaḥyá b. Rúzbihán and Ibráhím b. Abla to Ray to meet him, bidding them bring him before him by way of Sawát-kúh, Kálbadraja and Kandí-áb, along roads so bad that it was impossible to ride. So when at length, after several days' hard travelling over the worst of roads, they came to where Mázyár was awaiting them at Hurmuzdábád, and saw him surrounded by a host of armed men of all conditions, they were filled with astonishment at his power and at the inaccessible character of his kingdom. So he entertained them royally for some time, but persisted in his refusal to accompany them to Baghdad, alleging that he was busy in fighting the Daylamites, but would follow them presently before the Caliph. So he sent then back, accompanied by the Qáḍís of Ámul and Rúyán, and when they reached Baghdad, and were questioned by the Caliph concerning the loyalty (f. 101*b*) and intentions of Mázyár, they answered contrary to the truth. But when they came out from the audience, and the Qáḍí of Ruyán had gone to his lodging, the Qáḍí of Ámul lingered outside the audience-hall till he could get speech with Yaḥyá b. Aktham, to whom he said, "The Prince of Believers enquired concerning Mázyár publicly, and inasmuch as most of his courtiers and attendants are friends of Mázyár, and are in communication

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with him, we were unable to declare the truth. Yet did I not deem it right to depart from the court without making known to the Caliph the true state of the case, which is that Mázyár has cast off his allegiance, put on once more the Zoroastrian girdle, treats the Muslims with cruelty and contempt, and will never again of his own free will come to Baghdad." Yaḥyá b. Aktham replied, "How long wilt thou, who art the administrator of the Holy Law and the Judge of a province, tell lies to the Prince of Believers? When he knows that thou hast lied to him, will he not needs dismiss thee from thy post?" Then he turned back and told the whole matter to al-Ma'mún, and came out again, and brought the Qáḍí of Ámul secretly before the Caliph that he might tell his story. Al-Ma'mún was just preparing to start on a journey, and he said to the Qáḍí of Ámul, "You must put up with it till I return, for this matter is the more urgent." "If we can thwart him," replied the Judge, "have we permission to do so?" "You may do so," answered the Caliph.

So the Qáḍí returned to Ámul, and Mázyár, hearing that the Caliph had marched against the Byzantines, began to devour Ámul and Sárí like a ravenous wolf, and to drive the people of Rúyán to desperation, so that they conspired together to kill all his representatives. At Safúḥ near Ámul they persuaded one Khalíl b. Wandásafán to help them. This news (f. 102*a*) was brought to Mázyár at Sárí, and he at once collected his troops and laid siege to Ámul, the inhabitants of which closed the gates, gathered in the country-folk from the surrounding district, and went before Muḥammad b. Músá and informed him that the Qáḍí of Ámul had returned from Baghdad asserting that Mázyár had cast off his allegiance to the Caliph, and that he had received permission to kill him. Then Muḥammad b. Músá summoned the Qáḍí, and, learning that the statement made

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to him by the people was true, joined himself to them.

Meanwhile Mázyár sent off a courier to the Caliph, announcing that the people of Rúyán and the passes of Jálús had cast of their allegiance to him and had won over Muḥammad b. Músá to their side, and set up an ʿAlid claimant as anti-caliph, adopting white garments as their distinctive mark. "But I," concluded Mázyár, "have sent an army to subdue them, and, please God, the news of my victory will shortly follow this." At this time the city of Ámul was guarded by a double moat and double fortifications, and it held out for eight months against Mázyár, though all the surrounding country was laid waste, and devastated by slaughter and pillage, by Mázyár's brother Qúhyár the son of Qárin; while Mázyár sent constant despatches to the Caliph concerning the progress of the war, till at length the Caliph began to think that Mázyár was after all loyal and true. For Muḥammed b. Músá used to send all his despatches to an old servant of his father's who lived at Ray, and who was supposed to forward them; but he had been tampered with by one of Mázyár's acute agents, to whom he gave them instead, so that they never reached their destination, but were all read by Mázyár.

After an eight month's siege, Ámul capitulated, and Khalíl b. Wandásafán and Abú Aḥmad the Qáḍí were put to death by Mázyár, who wrote a despatch announcing his victory to the Caliph. Al-Maʾmún thereupon despatched Muḥammad b. Saʿíd (f. 102*b*) to Ṭabaristán to investigate the true state of the case, and to find out who this ʿAlid claimant might be. This man reported that there was no ʿAlid claimant, and that the whole story was a lie invented by Mázyár. The Caliph, however, when he had read this report, was filled with anger against Muḥammad b. Músá, and handed over both the highlands and plains of Ṭabaristán to Mázyár. When Mázyár was informed of this, he made

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a proclamation in Ámul, collected all the chiefs, nobles and men of mark, including Muḥammad b. Músá, drove them before him to Rúd-bast, and placed each in his own house under the custody of guards.

In this same year tidings came to Ṭabaristán that al-Ma'mún had died on his campaign against the Byzantines at Qaydúm [1]. Thereupon Mázyár sent his Magian followers to bring the prisoners from Rúd-bast to Hurmuzd-ábád, where he put them into fetters and reduced their allowance of food, depriving them altogether of salt, and not permitting them to go to the bath. Most of them died of privation, and Muḥammad b. Músá and his brother had nothing in their cells but a piece of matting each, and bricks for their pillows. Then Mázyár repaired the fortifications of Ámul and Sárí, constructed castles in the mountains, and compelled all the peasantry to work for him (f. 103*a*) in constructing fortresses and digging moats. He also established barriers and guard-houses on all the roads to prevent anyone bearing tidings of his doings to the outside world, and he hanged all who attempted to pass out of the country without his permission. In short his tyranny reached a pitch never equalled before or since his time.

Al-Ma'mún was succeeded by his brother Ibráhím al-Mu'taṣim, to whom 'Abdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir, governor of Khurásán, communicated something of Mázyár's misdeeds, tyranny, and apostacy. The new Caliph sent an ambassador to Mázyár to intercede for Muḥammad b. Músá and his brother; but Mázyár would not listen to the representation of this ambassador, Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh, but answered him harshly that he would exact from them two years' revenues before he let them go. So Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh the ambassador returned in despair, and wrote an

[1] [Ṭabarí (III, p. 1134) has "at al-Badhandún", which Yáqút (I, p. 503) describes as a town two days journey from Ṭarasús in Cilicia. A. G. E.]

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account of his mission to Yaḥyá b. Ibráhím b. Muṣʿab, who was at the Court of the Caliph, and who submitted it to al-Muʿtaṣim. Mázyár meanwhile conferred various offices and distinctions on Bábak, Mazdak and other Magians, who ordered the Muḥammadan mosques to be destroyed and all traces of Islám to be removed. The people of Ámul persuaded Abu'l-Qásim Hárún b. Muḥammad to write a statement of their grievances to al-Muʿtaṣim, and hence this *qaṣída* was composed:

و قايلة جُرْتُمْ غداة بسوقكم أُسَارَى إِلَى ٱلْقُفُور قُلُف ٱلْأَسَاوِرِ
لَعمرك لَوْ شئْنَا ٱمْتَنَعْنَا وَ أَصْبَحَتْ بَنُو قَارِنٍ فِينَا طَحِينَ الدَوَائِرِ
وَ لٰكِنْ وَجَدْنَا ٱللّٰهَ أَكْدَ بَيْعَةً لِمُعْتَصِمٍ بِٱللّٰهِ لِلدِّينِ نَاصِرِ
فَقَالَ أَطِيعُوا رَبَّكُمْ وَ رَسُولَهُ نَعَمْ وَ أُولِى ٱلْأَمْرِ ٱلْكِرَامِ ٱلْعَنَاصِرِ
و لا تَنْقضوا ٱلْأَيْمَانَ من بعد عهدها فَمَنْ ينقض ٱلْأَيْمَانَ أَخْسَرُ خَاسِرِ
و أَوْفُوا بِعَهْدِى أُوفَ بِٱلْعَهْدِ إِنَّنِى أَنَا ٱللّٰهُ جَبَّارُ ٱلْمُلُوكِ ٱلْجَبَابِرِ (f. 103b)
و انّا نطقنا بالامام رجاءنا و آمالَ أَمْرٍ من نساءٍ حَرَائِرِ
أَيَرْضَى أَمِيرُ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ بِمَا نَرَى وَ لَيْسَ أَمِيرُ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ بِجَائِرِ
أَيَجْعَلُنَا نَهْبَ ٱلْمَجُوسِ و ما نرى اليهم سوى دين الهدى من جرائر
بعدر امير المؤمنين بخالعٍ كَفُورٍ لِنَعْمَاءِ الخليفة كَافِرِ
فَإِنْ يَنْجُ مِثْلَ ٱلْمَازِيَارِ و لم يَذُقْ سُلَافَةَ مَوْتٍ من كؤوس البواتر
فَأَخْلِقْ بِحُبْلَى أَنْ تَنُدَّ جَنِينَهَا وَ أَخْلِقْ بِرَعْدٍ أَنْ يُعَبَّ بِمَاطِرِ
و ما هو فى كفيك الّا كَبَصْقَةٍ بَزَقْتَ بها فى مُفْعَمِ البحر زاخر
وَ إِنِّى لَأَلْقَى مَازِيَارَ كَأَنَّنِى أَرَى رأسه تاجًا لِرُمْحِ ابن طاهر
اذا دَلَفَتْ رايته نَحْوَ بَلْدَةٍ أَتَتْهُ بِمَا يَهْوَى صُرُوفُ ٱلْمَقَادِرِ

In reply to this poem, an answer, also in verse, was sent from Baghdad, from which the following verses are taken:

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أَجِيبُوا إِلَى ٱلْمَوْتِ ٱلَّذِي سَاقَكُم لَهُ ... عَدُوٌّ شَدِيدُ ٱلْبَغْيِ أَجْوَرُ جَائِرِ
فَإِنَّ إِلَهَ ٱلنَّاسِ عَوْنٌ يُعِينُنَا ... وَ يَنْصُرُنَا رَبٌّ لَنَا خَيْرُ نَاصِرِ
وَ إِنَّ أَمِيرَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ فَقَائِدٌ ... رَمَاكُمْ بِجُنْدٍ فَوْقَ خَيْلِ ضَوَامِرِ
كَأَنَّهُمُ أُسْدٌ مُعَارٌ خُيُولُهُمْ ... مِنَ ٱلطَّيْرِ سِرْبٌ كُلُّ طِرْفٍ لِطَائِرِ
فَلَيْتَكُمُ يَا صَفْوَتِي مِن رَعِيَّتِي ... عَلَى ٱلدِّينِ قَدْ يُرْدِيكُمُ كُلُّ كَافِرِ
و إِنْ يَنْجُ مِنِّي المازيارُ فَسَوْءَةٌ ... وَ أَصْحَابُهُ أَعْلُ ٱلذُّنُوبِ ٱلْكَبَائِرِ
و أُلْبِسُهُ مِنْ كُسْوَةِ ٱلْقَتْلِ جُبَّةً ... صِبَاغَتُهَا حَمْرَاءُ مِنْ دَمِ فَاجِرِ

When al-Muʿtaṣim was informed of Mázyár's doings, he ordered ʿAbdu'lláh [b. Ṭáhir] to proceed to Ṭabaristán and take him captive. ʿAbdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir sent his paternal uncle Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn to the Caliph begging him to send Muḥammad b. Ibráhím with an army from ʿIráq to help him. When the army of Khurásán reached Tammísha (f. 104*a*), the army of ʿIráq had already occupied all the highlands, and the people of Ṭabaristán left Mázyár and joined ʿAbdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir and his uncle. These pursued Mázyár without rest or pause, till at length he was taken captive. ʿAbdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir confined him in a box entirely closed save for two eye-holes through which he could look upon the outer world, and carried him thus confined on a mule to ʿIráq.

One day on the journey Mázyár said to the muleteer, "My heart craves for a melon. Can you get me one?" His guards reported this request to ʿAbdu'lláh, who took pity upon him and said, "He is a king and a king's son." Then he ordered him to be released from the chest and brought before him, and placed loads of melons before him, and cut them up and gave them to him with his own hands, saying, "Grieve not, for the Commander of the Faithful is a merciful prince, and I wil intercede for thee, that he may overlook thy fault, and restore thee to thy country." Mázyár replied, "Please God, thy excuses will be accepted." ʿAbdu-

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ʾlláh was astonished, saying to himself, "The Caliph will not be content with anything short of his death: how then can he ask for my intercession?" Then ʿAbduʾlláh ordered a table to be spread, and gave him bread and wine, and caused the minstrels to make melody, and entertained him sumptuously, and greatly encouraged him to hope, plying him with strong wines until he was overcome with drink, but himself passing the wine-cup. Then, when Mázyár was overcome with wine, ʿAbduʾllah asked him the meaning of what he had said. Mázyár replied, "In a few more days you will know." ʿAbduʾlláh pressed him, with threats and promises, to speak, and at length Mázyár agreed to do so if he would bind himself by an oath [not to betray him]. On receiving this pledge, Mázyár said (f. 104*b*), "Know that I, and Afshín, and Ḥaydar b. Káʾús and Bábak, all four of us, have for a long while covenanted and agreed to take the empire from the Arabs and restore it to the Kisrás of Persia. Yesterday, at such-and-such a place, Afshín's messenger came to me and whispered something in my ear which filled me with joy." "What was that?" enquired ʿAbduʾlláh. Mázyár at first refused to speak, but finally, induced by promises and flattery, he continued: "He brought me a message from Afshín to the effect that on a certain day, at a certain hour, he would destroy al-Muʿtaṣim, and his sons Hárún al-Wáthiq and Jaʿfar al-Mutawakkil." Then ʿAbduʾlláh gave him more wine, till he was entirely overcome with it, and then caused him to be taken back to his place of confinement; and at once wrote to the Caliph what he had heard, and despatched the letter by carrier-pigeon. When the Caliph received the letter it was the very day on which Afshín had invited him and his sons Hárún and Jaʿfar to a great entertainment. So al-Muʿtaṣim sent word saying, "They are ill, but I will come," and forthwith proceeded thither with fifty horsemen. Afshín had

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decked his house with bejewelled brocades, and had drawn up a hundred negroes, who, when the Caliph had sat down, were to rush upon him from all sides and slay him with their swords. When al-Muʿtaṣim reached the entrance, Afshín said, "Enter, o my lord!" but he paused and said, "Where are so-and-so and so-and-so?" Then he called his trusty retainers and bade them enter, while he stood outside. Then one of the Indians sneezed, and the Caliph rushed in, seized Afshín by the beard, and cried, "Plunder, plunder!" (النّهب النّهب). When the Indians heard this, they were filled with consternation, and took to flight; and al-Muʿtaṣim summoned his kinsmen and retainers, and bade them set fire to Afshín's palace. Then his servants took Afshín's beard from the Caliph's hand, and bound him with chains and fetters, and brought him to the Caliph's Palace, where they detained him till Mázyár's arrival. And they questioned him (f. 105*a*), saying, "Why didst thou see fit to cast off thine allegiance?" Mázyár replied, "You gave me the government of Ṭabaristán. The people rebelled against me. I reported this to the Court, and received orders to fight them." "Who wrote this answer to you?" enquired the Caliph. "Afshín," replied Mázyár. Then the Caliph summoned the lawyers and judges of Baghdad, and by their sentence Mázyár was first scourged to death, and then his body was crucified at the Khaṭíra of Bábil, opposite Náṭis the Byzantine, the lord of ʿAmúriya. And Afshín was burned alive. And Mázyár had ruled over Ṭabaristán for seven years, and at his death the highlands passed into the control of Bundár the son of Múní.

Account of the kings of Ṭabaristán after Mázyár.

After Mázyár's death, Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn, the paternal uncle of ʿAbdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir, was made governor of Ṭabarístán, and ruled it well and justly for three years, four

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months and ten days, and entrusted to Muḥammad b. Ibráhim the task of discovering Mázyár's treasures. In Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 228 (= September, A. D. 843) Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn died, and was succeeded by Ṭáhir b. ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir, who governed the country for one year and three months, until news came from Khurásán of the death of his father ʿAbdu'lláh there, whereupon he went to Khurásán, leaving his brother Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'lláh to govern Ṭabaristán, which he did for seven years, assisted by ʿAttáb b. Warqá ash-Shaybání. In Ṣafár, A. H. 237 (= August, A. D. 851) Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'lláh went to Baghdad, and Sulaymán b. ʿAbdu'lláh became governor of Ṭabaristán. He governed with wisdom and discretion for three years, but in A. H. 240 (= A. D. 854—5) he made a secretary from Merv named Manṣúr b. Yaḥyá his minister, and this man introduced evil innovations and practised extortions, till he was dismissed by Ṭáhir b. ʿAbdu'lláh, and Muḥammad b. Músá b. ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán (f. 105*b*) was made *wazír* in his place.

Qárin the son of Shahriyár embraces Islám.

In the year A. H. 240 (A. D. 854—5) the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim sent one of his nobles to the Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár, king of the mountains, to bid him break his Magian girdle and embrace Islám, which he did, and thereupon received a robe of honour from the Caliph. At this time Muḥammad b. ʿIsa was governing Ṭabaristán, as deputy for the Ṭáhirids, and his government was just and mild. Then Sulaymán b. ʿAbdu'lláh was sent to replace him, and he nominated first Quraysh and then Asad b. Jandán as his deputies, and later Muḥammad b. Aws, who united Rúyán and Jálús, placing his son Aḥmad in the latter place, as governor over it and Kalár; but his tyranny and harshness were such that all who were able sold or abandoned their houses and migrated elsewhere. And every year the taxes

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were levied three times; once for Muḥammad b. Aws, once for his son, and once for a Magian who acted as their agent.

Account of the rule of the Ṭálibite Sayyids in Ṭabaristán.

The Caliphate had now passed to Jaᶜfar al-Mutawakkil, the son of al-Muᶜtaṣim, whose minister, ᶜAbdu'lláh b. Yaḥyá b. Kháqán, was a fanatical Sunní (*Náṣibí*), who was continually inciting him to kill the descendants of the Prophet, and even prevailed upon him to destroy the tombs of the Martyrs of Kerbelá, dam up the water, grow crops on the site of their graves, and set Jewish watchmen and keepers there to arrest and slay any Muslim who visited these holy places. Thus in the time of ad-Dáᶜí Muḥammad [b.] Zayd the tombs of ᶜAlí and his son al-Ḥusayn and other descendants of Abú Ṭálib were in ruins. But in the Caliphate of al-Muntaṣir (A. H. 247—8: A. D. 861—2) Muḥammad b. Zayd made himself ruler of Ṭabaristán, and thereupon began to preach the Shíᶜite doctrine, and to inculcate the deepest veneration for the House of ᶜAlí, and to repair (f. 106*a*) their shrines, and to build fresh ones where he supposed their graves to be. In all this he was aided by ᶜAḍudu'd-Dawla Fanákhusraw b. Ruknu'd-Dawla Ḥasan [b.] Buwayh, who surrounded these holy places with houses and *bázárs*, and instituted the observances of Muḥarram and the *Yawmu'l-Ghadír* and other Shíᶜite practices, and was himself buried when he died at Mashhad ᶜAlí.

It is related that when al-Mutawakkil was made Caliph, he had the same love of hunting down and slaying the descendants of ᶜAlí as an eager sportsman has for the chase. The Imám ᶜAlí b. Muḥammad al-Hádí al-ᶜAskarí, who was recognized by the Shíᶜites as their pontiff, was his contemporary. One day the Caliph summoned this Imám

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before him, caused him to be seated, and then, turning to ʿAlí b. Muḥammad an-Nadím, enquired, "Who is the greatest poet of our day?" "Abú ʿUbáda al-Buḥturí," replied the courtier, "And after him?" asked the Caliph:

گفت عبیدك ولد مروان بن ابی حفصه، بعد از آن روی بامام علی بن محمّد کرد و گفت من اشعر النّاس یا ٱبْن عمّ، فقال علی ابن محمّد اللّوفی، قال المتوكّل و لِمَ قال لقوله (شعر)

لقد فَاخَرْتَنَا من قریش عِصَابَةٌ بِمَطِّ خدود و ٱمْتِدَاد اصابع

فَلَمَّا تَنَازَعْنَا ٱلْفَخَارَ قضی لنا علیهم بما تَهْوَی نداء الصوامع

متوكّل گفت ما نداء الصوامع یابْن عمّ، قال اشهد ان لا اله الّا الله و اشهد انّ محمّدًا رسول الله،

For this reason amongst others al-Mutawakkil slew ʿAlí b. Muḥammad al-Hádí, and occupied himself day and night with drinking, debauchery and all sorts of folly and madness.

Al-Aṣmaʿí relates in his *Kitábu'n-Nawádir*, on the authority of Aḥmad b. Ṣáliḥ ad-Dimashqí, on the authority of Yúsuf b. ʿAbdu'lláh, that al-Buḥturí said: "I had composed for al-Mutawakkil the well-known *qaṣída* beginning:

عن ای ثغر تبتسم،

and I remained for a long while at the Court waiting for an opportunity to present it (because he cared but little for poets, and would not give them audience) but could find none. One day I was sitting in an ante-chamber when Baḥrir, one of the Caliph's servants, came out, took me by the hand, and led me from ante-chamber to apartment and from apartment to ante-chamber till I reckoned that I had passed through three hundred apartments (f. 106*b*). At length he brought me to a room where I saw al-Mutawakkil sitting on a golden throne, round which stools were

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set in order of their rank for his courtiers and attendants, who were clad in black. As soon as al-Mutawakkil's eyes fell on me, he cried to me, 'Recite, O Buḥturí, recite!' Though I had not yet saluted him, I said to myself, 'Though it is a breach of etiquette, yet it is best for me to obey his commands;' so I gathered up my skirts and began:

عَنْ أَيِّ ثَغْرٍ تَبْتَسِمْ وَ بِأَيِّ طَرْفٍ تَحْتَكِمْ،

At once one of the courtiers sprang to his feet, looked at me, and said:

عَنْ أَيِّ سَلْحٍ تَرْتَطِمْ وَ بِأَيِّ كَفٍّ تَلْتَطِمْ،

I was dumb with astonishment, saying to myself, 'It is a year since I composed this poem, and I have shewn it to no one: how could this wretched fellow spoil it thus by his extemporization?' Then I reflected that it must be an accidental coincidence, and continued, fixing my eyes on the Caliph:

أَعْمَلْتُ فِيكَ مَدَأْيِحِي يَا جَعْفَرَ بْنَ ٱلْمُعْتَصِمْ،

Instantly that same man rose up again, turned towards me, and said:

أَدْخَلْتُ رَأْسَكَ فِي حِرِمّ فَسَوْفَ مِنّى تَنْهَزِمْ،

Thereat al-Mutawakkil was seized with such violent laughter that he fell back and his crown rolled from his head; and he gave the courtier who had parodied my verses ten thousand *dirhams*, while me they drove out with cuffs and blows. When I reached the ante-chamber, he passed me, with a servant carrying the money. I enquired of Baḥrír who he was. He replied, "Abu'l-ʿAnbas aḍ-Ḍamírí, who, had you composed two thousand verses, would have produced a parody of each.'"

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In short, during al-Mutawakkil's reign the Sayyids of the House of ᶜAlí were in hiding in ruins and solitudes, till at length he died, dividing his realms between his three sons, of whom al-Muntaṣir, who became Caliph, was the eldest. He was opposed by the other ᶜAbbásids, and the Turkish guard, getting the upper hand, plundered the treasures of Sámarra, and besieged Baghdad, enraged at the support given by its inhabitants to al-Mustaᶜín. Matters being in this confusion, Yaḥyá b. ᶜUmar b. al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlí b. al-Ḥusayn b. (f. 107*a*) ᶜAlí b. Abí Ṭálib rebelled at Kúfa. He was a brave, accomplished and ascetic man. The people of Kúfa, supposing him to be actuated by need of money, offered to pay him a substantial sum if he would be quiet, but he swore that he would never have revolted had not his zeal been stirred by seeing God's religion contemned and the ordinances of the Law contravened and neglected.

آن مرد نیم کز عدمم بیم آید کان بیم مرا بهتر ازآن بیم آید

Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdu'lláh [b.] Ṭáhir sent one of his officers named Ḥasan b. Ismaᶜíl with another named Turkí-takín to suppress this rising, and they captured the Sayyid, and cut off his head, which was sent to Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdu'lláh [b.] Ṭáhir. The people of Baghdad came to offer their congratulations, and amongst them the old Sayyid Abú Háshim Dá'úd b. al-Qásim al-Jaᶜfarí, who said, "O Amír, I am come to congratulate thee on an event for which condolence would have been offered to the Apostle of God had he still been alive!"

أيُّها الامير جئتُك مُهَنِّئًا بِمَا لَوْ كَانَ رَسُولُ ٱللَّهِ حَيًّا لَعُزِّيَ،

The Rise to power of Ḥasan b. Zayd.

Such of the Sayyids as escaped from this battle fled to the highlands of ᶜIráq and Farshwádgar and there concealed

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themselves till such time as the people of Wárfú and Latrá were driven to desperation by the tyranny and barbarity of Muḥammad b. Aws. These, constantly seeing the learning, piety, and ascetic life of the fugitive Sayyids who had taken refuge amongst them, were strongly impressed in their favour, and said, "It is they who possess the characteristics of true religion." So they gathered deputations from the surrounding villages and went to the Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ibráhím b. ʿAlí b. ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán b. al-Qásim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlí b. Abi Ṭálib, who was in Rúyán, and begged him to receive their oaths of allegiance, so that perhaps, by his blessing, God might free them from the tyranny under which they groaned. He replied, "I am not worthy to take up arms, but I have a brother-in-law, who is married to my sister, who is brave and competent, being skilled in war and tried in battle (f. 107*b*). If you will carry a letter from me to him at Ray, he will accept your offer and accomplish your desire." So the chief man of the deputations, ʿAbdu'lláh b. Wandá-ummíd, at once despatched a courier with the letter.

Rule of the Sayyids of Ṭabaristán, of whom the first was Ḥasan b. Zayd.

When this courier reached Ray he saw Ḥasan b. Zayd and Ismaʿíl called *Jálibu'l-Ḥijára* ("the Stone-dragger") whose genealogy has been already mentioned in the preface, and communicated to them the letters of the notables of Ṭabaristán, urging them to revolt. To these he replied, and dismissed the messenger with a robe of honour. When he reached Rúyán, the news became known, and was communicated to ʿAlí b. Aws. He at once wrote to ʿAbdu'lláh b. Saʿíd and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'l-Karím bidding them come to him to investigate the matter. The former was

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afraid, left his house, and retired to the village of Ashtád. At this juncture the courier arrived with the letter of Ḥasan b. Zayd al-ʿAlawí, announcing that he had alighted at the village of Saʿíd-ábád, where he was expecting ʿAbdu'lláh b. Saʿíd and his confederates to take the oath of allegiance. ʿAbdu'lláh thereupon went to [Muḥammad b.] ʿAbdu'l-Karím with all the chief men of Kalár on Tuesday, Ramaḍán 25, A. H. 250 (= November 1, A. D. 864), and they swore allegiance, undertaking to observe the ordinances of God's scripture, and the practice of His Apostle, and to do good and forbid evil. And they wrote letters to the people of Jálús and Nírús, and sent missionaries to them, and remained that night with ʿAbdu'lláh b. Saʿíd, and proceeded next day to Gúrishbard, where people joined them from all sides. News of this came to ʿAlí b. Aws, who did not rest until he had communicated with Muḥammad b. Aws. And the Sayyids of that district, with Muḥammad b. Ibráhím b. ʿAlí b. ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán, went out to meet Ḥasan b. Zayd, who reached Kajúr on Thursday, Ramaḍán 27 (A. H. 250 = November 3, A. D. 864), and performed the service of the festival which marks the conclusion of Ramaḍán, and preached a most eloquent sermon. Then he sent Muḥammad b. ʿAbbás (f. 108*a*) and ʿAlí b. Naṣr and ʿAqíl b. Mabrúr to Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanafí, who was then at Jálús, to invite him to ally himself with them; and then they proceeded to the Great Mosque and received the oaths of allegiance of all the people of that district, save the few dependants of Muḥammad b. Aws, who fled without horses or arms, some to Jaʿfar b. Shahriyár b. Qárin and some to others.

Ḥasan b. Zayd next marched from Kajúr to Nátil, and received the allegiance of its inhabitants, and thence he passed on to Pá-yi-Dasht. At the head of his vanguard were Muḥammad al-ʿAlawí and Muḥammad b. Rustam b. Wandá-

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ummíd of Kalár, whom they called Khiyán; while the vanguard of the army of Muḥammad b. Aws was Muḥammad b. Ikhshíd, his *sipahsálár*. The two armies met at Pá-yi-Dasht, and Muḥammad al-ʿAlawí at once attacked the enemy, put them to rout, and took captive Muḥammad b. Ikhshíd, whom he sent to Ḥasan b. Zayd. He then pushed forward with all speed to Balíkání near Ámul, whither Sulaymán b. ʿAbd'ulláh b. Ṭáhir had sent an army, which they defeated, taking captive Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn.

Muḥammad b. Ḥamza was ordered to proceed in person to Daylamán and seek for reinforcements. The Daylamites responded to the appeal, and Ummídwár the son of Lashkar-sitán, Wíhán the son of Sahl, Fálízbán, and Faḍl-i-Rafíqí came with six hundred men to Pá-yi-Dasht to reinforce Ḥasan b. Zayd, who on the same day received letters from the nobles and Ispahbads of Ṭabaristán promising him their support, and urging him to continue the war. Amongst these were Pádhúsbán the son of Kurdzád, the Ispahbad of Lafúr, the Maṣ-mughán, son of Wandá-ummíd, Wíjan the son of Rustam, Khurshíd the son of Gushnasf the son of Nidrand, and Khiyán, the son of Rustam. Encouraged by these letters and promises, Ḥasan b. Zayd formed a body-guard of 20 horsemen and 200 footmen under the command of his kinsmen the Sayyids Muḥammad b. Ḥamza and Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad (f. 108*b*). When Muḥammad b. Aws heard this, he set his army in battle array and ordered Ibráhím b. Khalíl to attack them; they, however, not only repelled the attack, but pursued their assailants, routed Muḥammad b. Aws, and captured much of his baggage and many of his horses.

On Monday, Shawwal 23 (A. H. 250 = November 29, A. D. 864) Ḥasan b. Zayd reached Ámul, and slew a number of his opponents, including Daylamí the son of Farrukhán, Muqátil the Daylamite (و مقاتل ديلمى), and Alí b. Ibráhím

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al-Jílí; but Ibráhim b. Khalíl craved and obtained quarter. On the morning of the following day, Tuesday, Ḥasan b. Zayd proceeded to the Oratory (مصلّى) of Ámul, summoned all the people of the city, gentle and simple, and persuaded all save a very few to take the oath of allegiance to him. He abode in Ámul for the remaining seven days of the month, during which period Fana the son of Wandá-ummíd, Wandásafán the son of Máhyár, and Surkháb the son of Rustam sought and obtained quarter. Then he appointed Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'l-ʿAzíz governor of Rúyán, Jaʿfar b. Rustam governor of Kalár, and Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbás governor of Jálús, while he invited the people of Ámul to choose a governor for themselves, whereupon they chose Muḥammad b. Ibráhím b. ʿAlí b. ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán, who was then acting as Ḥasan b. Zayd's deputy-governor at Rúyán.

The Mas-mughán, son of Wanda-ummíd, had already conceived a hatred for Muḥammad b. Aws because of his tyranny towards the people, and when he saw how the affairs of Ḥasan b. Zayd prospered, he came forth from the forests where he was hiding to Mámṭír, where, on Thursday, Shawwál 26 (A. H. 250 = December 2, A. D. 864) he called upon the people to swear allegiance to Ḥasan b. Zayd, which they all did eagerly. Then he wrote tidings of what he had done to Ḥasan b. Zayd, who gave him in perpetuity the rule over Zarmíkhwást, and ordered him to go to Sárí and wait there till he should join him. He did so (f. 109*a*), and encamped by the village of Pútam at Nawrúzábád, while Ḥasan b. Zayd's emissaries went forth as far as Damáwand, Fírúz-kúh and the confines of Ray, and all the people of Ṭabaristán accepted the authority of Ḥasan b. Zayd. On Friday, Dhu'l-Qaʿda 14, (A. H. 250 = December 19, A. D. 864) he reached Tarícha with all his army, whence he proceeded to Jamanú.

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Correspondence of the Ispahbad Qárin b. Shahriyár with Ḥasan b. Zayd.

At this juncture the Ispahbad Qárin wrote to Ḥasan b. Zayd professing the utmost devotion to him, and promising to send him help. His real object, however, was to weaken Sulaymán al-ʿAlawí, drive him from the country, and seize both highlands and plains for himself. When Ḥasan b. Zayd received this letter, he summoned the Daylamites and shewed them the letter, and they wrote to the Ispahbad saying, "If thou speakest truly, join thyself to us." The Ispahbad replied, "It is better that you should join me." Then Ḥasan b. Zayd began to suspect his motives, and Sulaymán b. ʿAbdu'lláh sent his general Asad [b.] Jandán with an army from Sárí to a place called Dúdán on the road to Tarjí. Ḥasan b. Zayd sought counsel from his companions. An old man named Shahriyár the son of Andiyán, one of the chief counsellors of Sharwín, said to Ḥasan b. Zayd, "It is best that you should make it known that you intend to march against Asad, but during the night you should turn aside and go by way of Zarmí-khwást to Nawrúz-ábád, and thence to Sárí, where you will attack Sulaymán, and crush him, after which you will easily defeat Asad and his army. But if you act otherwise, and defeat Asad first, he will escape to Sulaymán, and your affairs will be rendered difficult; and moreover God only knows what the result of your encounter with Asad may be. Besides this, Sulaymán, who is now at Sárí, probably feels quite secure and is taking no precautions, since he will feel sure that you will first encounter his general Asad" (f. 109*b*).

Ḥasan b. Zayd determined to act on this advice, and to attack Sulaymán first; and Asad received tidings that Ḥasan b. Zayd had fled by night, whereupon he despatched a

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courier to Sulaymán to inform him that the ᶜAlawí had fled. But as the latter was sitting rejoicing over this message, he suddenly heard the cries of "*Alláhu akbar!*" and saw around him the white standards of the ᶜAlawís, and heard the shouts of their Daylamite allies. Thereupon he fled bare-foot to Asad, while the Sayyid's troops slew all whom they could overtake of their foes. When Sulaymán reached Asad, he was already engaged with the Sayyid's troops, and the latter, like lions eager for their meal, pursued them, and slew amongst others Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlí of Sarakhs, ᶜAlí b. al-Ḥarb, Isḥaq b. Shaykhí, ᶜAli al-Maghribí, Ibn Thaᶜlaba of Syria, and Naṣr b. Wabra of Syria. Then they looted Sulaymán's palace, sent the spoils to the village of Mihrawán, and then burned the palace to the ground. Ḥasan b. Zayd reached Sárí on the first day of the five Persian *gátás* (اوّل روز مسترقهٔ فارسی), and the same day news was brought to him that his brother Ḥusayn b. Zayd had reached Shalmiyya near Damáwand, and Pádhúsbán the son of Kurd-zád came to him from Lafúr, telling him that he ought to remain forty days at Sárí. His brother Ḥusayn b. Zayd remained 23 days at Damáwand, where the chiefs of Láriján and Qaṣrán came in to him, and he was joined by Muḥammad b. Míkál. Meanwhile Sulaymán fled to Astarábád, and sent messengers to Khurásán to demand help, while the stragglers of his army gradually joined him.

After a forty days' halt at Sárí, Ḥasan b. Zayd turned back to go to Ámul. The Daylamites, being laden with booty, dispersed, and went back to their homes. The Ispahbad Pádhúsbán advised Ḥasan b. Zayd not to go beyond Jamanú till it was known what course Sulaymán would adopt. Soon afterwards Sulaymán himself arrived with a fresh army at Sárí and Ḥasan b. Zayd sent to Muḥammad b. Ibráhím (f. 110*a*) and Muḥammad [b.] Ḥamza bidding them join him with their forces from Ámul and Mámṭír. Sulaymán

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had pitched his camp at Lícham, and a battle took place between the two forces at Tamashkí Dasht, in which Ḥasan b. Zayd was routed, and his men were dispersed to the forests. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aws pursued them into the forests, but they caught him unawares, and slew him with a blow from a mace. On that day Ḥasan b. Zayd shewed the greatest valour, and held the end of a bridge against the foe until he had seen his fugitive army cross in safety. Thence he marched to Úfar, while Sulaymán went to Tálániyán, and Muḥammad b. Aws pursued the men of Kalár, of whom he slew many in an ambush which he had prepared on the road to Úfar. But the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán and the Mas-mughán had prepared another ambush for him, into which he fell with his soldiers, of whom they slew many, while he himself was struck on the head with a stone. When Ḥasan b. Zayd perceived that he could not withstand them, he retreated by way of Bálá'ín with Fana the son of Wandá-ummíd and Khurshíd the son of Gushnasf, and came that night to Ámul, whence next morning he came to Jálús, having lost many of his men, while those who remained with him were despoiled of almost all their garments and weapons, so that Já'í the son of Lashkar-sitán, one of his best-known lieutenants, had no clothes on his body. However some 10,000 *dirhams* were collected and spent on obtaining fresh clothes.

Sulaymán b. ʿAbdu'lláh and the nobles of Khurásán, accompanied by the infantry of the king of the mountains, the Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár, came to Ámul, while Ḥasan b. Zayd sent for re-inforcements to Gílán and Daylamán. In response to his appeal, several thousand adherents of his propaganda (ابناء دعوت) joined him, whereupon he prepared his army for battle, and moved on to Khwájak. Sulaymán, learning this, came from Ámul to Páyi-Dasht, where he encamped. Ḥasan b. Zayd advanced to

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the Lápích River (f. 110*b*) and took counsel with his allies. The Daylamites said, "This place is good. Give us permission first to attack the infantry of the Ispahbad Qárin and dispose of them, for in this place when the infantry are routed, cavalry has no chance." Ḥasan b. Zayd gave them permission, and when they had routed the infantry, the horsemen were entangled in the bushes and underwood, and were taken prisoners, or else fled, casting away their arms. Amongst those killed were Sulayman's general Asad b. Jandán, Anúshírwán *Hazár-mardí*, ʿAlí b. al-Faraj, ʿAṭṭáf b. Abi'l-ʿAṭṭáf of Syria, the Ispahbad Jaʿfar b. Shahriyár, Qárin's general Dázmihr, ʿAzíz b. ʿAbdu'lláh, and ʿUbayd b. Yazíd al-Kházin.

Ḥasan b. Zayd remained there that day, and on the morrow came to Ámul, whence after fifteen days he came to Jamanú, and gave an army to the Ispahbad Padhúsbán to fight the Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár. Pádhúsbán, having secured the assistance of Kúkbán-i-Bakhmí from Kimnán, burned and ravaged all the highlands of Qárin, who fled from before them, abandoning his kingdom, in which Ḥasan b. Zayd established his governors to collect the revenue. Sulaymán fled to Astarábád, and sent a courier to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'lláh [b.] Ṭáhir in Khurásán, asking for reinforcements. In response to his appeal, ʿAnátúr b. Bakhtánsháh and Gushnasf b. Más were sent to support him, with a considerable army, whereat Sulaymán took heart, for Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd was but weakly supported at Sárí, some of his army being in the highlands, while his Daylamite allies had retired to Daylamán. Hearing of Sulaymán's increased strength, he therefore fell back on Jálús, where he was told that Wih-súdán the king of Daylamán had abandoned his cause; but a few days later Wih-súdán died, and 4000 Daylamites thereupon joined Ḥasan b. Zayd.

Meanwhile Fana (f. 111*a*) had collected an army from

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Farím and the highlands and come to Ámul, whence he wrote to Ḥasan b. Zayd asking for his commands. Thereupon he sent Aḥmad b. Ḥasan to him to occupy the country, and to remove Ibráhím [b.] Khalíl. At his commands, Fana marched against Ibráhím and defeated him. Ḥasan b. Zayd on hearing this came to Khwájak, where the people complained of Fana's oppression, further accusing him of having a secret understanding with Sulaymán and of corresponding with him. So he sent Muḥammad b. Abí Manṣúr and ʿIsá b. Ḥamíd to him, bidding him come before him, but he came not. Again he sent a message to him, bidding him not be disobedient, but he returned an insolent answer. Then Ḥasan b. Zayd told the people of Ámul that Fana's blood was lawful to them, whereupon 10,000 men attacked and burned his house, while he fled to his nephew Khurshíd the son of Gushnasf; but Khiyán the son of Rustam with a number of his followers pursued him thither, and slew them both, and sent their heads to Ḥasan b. Zayd. Then Fana's son Layth came in, with all his followers, to made his submission to Ḥasan b. Zayd, having induced the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán to intercede for him, and the Sayyid gave him a robe of honour, and conferred on him his father's possessions.

After a while Ḥasan b. Zayd moved from Ámul to Jamanú, where he remained for a month. While there, an encounter took place between his outposts and those of Sulaymán, in which many of Ḥasan's men were slain, including Muḥammad b. ʿIsá b. ʿAbdu'l-Ḥamíd. So Ḥasan b. Zayd was again obliged to retreat, accompanied by Muḥammad b. Rustam, the Mas-mughán, and Kúrankíj the son of Rúzbihán, sending the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán and Wíjan the son of Rustam to the highlands to guard them. Then he returned to Ámul, while Sulaymán abode at his palace at Sárí, whither he brought his wives and retainers

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from Astarábád; and the people (f. 111*b*) again began to hesitate between the two rivals. Then Sulaymán sent Muḥammad b. Ismaʿíl to Ámul, but Ḥasan b. Zayd, hearing of it, arrested and imprisoned him for a while, but afterwards released him, and suffered him to return to Sulaymán. Then Ḥasan collected his troops and went to Jamanú, having already warned the Mas-mughán to be on his guard, and sent Jaʿfar b. Rustam and Layth b. Fana and Wíjan b. Rustam with 700 men to help him. Sulaymán came out from Sárí to meet them in battle, and the Mas-mughán had prepared an ambush for him, but he routed the Mas-mughán, who fled to the forests. A violent thunder-storm came on, so that the archers could not shoot, and Sulaymán and his men surrounded the Mas-mughán, but the men hidden in ambush by the latter rushed out against him, and slew many of his chief followers, including Jalwánán the son of Wandá-ummíd, Muḥammad b. Faḍl of Láriján, Muḥammad b. Khálid, known as Abú Miráh, and others, all of whose heads were sent to Ḥasan b. Zayd. The Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár had gone with his army to meet the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán to fight with him, and the latter sent his brother Kurdí-zád to Ḥasan b. Zayd to seek for help. In response to his appeal, Muḥammad b. Rustam with the men of Kalár, Wíhán b. Sahl with the Daylamites, and Khiyán b. Rustam with the troops of Ámul were sent to reinforce him. The Ispahbad Qárin fled, and Ḥasan b. Zayd came to Ámul on the day of the festival, whence, after the *ʿÍd-i-aḍḥá*, he proceeded to Mámṭír, where he remained for thirteen days. Sulaymán sent two ambassadors with a letter to Khurshíd king of Daylam, urging and encouraging him to help and befriend him, and to abandon Ḥasan b. Zayd, and offering him 7000 golden *dínárs* and many robes of honour to divide amongst the Daylamites, on condition of their withholding their help from the Sayyid. He also con-

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structed a boat on the river Mihrawán, placed in it Azbar b. Janáh (f. 112*a*) and Saʿíd b. Jibráʾíl, and sent them to Ispíd-júy, where a wind arose which carried them in an hour to Jálús. Ḥasan b. Zayd's governor, being aware of this, seized the boat, and sent the ambassadors, with their papers, money and robes of honour, to the Sayyid, who divided the valuables amongst the Daylamites, and humbled Khurshíd king of Daylam, so that all men perceived that Sulaymán's luck was on the wane.

Ḥasan b. Zayd came from Mámṭír to Jamanú, and made the Daylamites swear to be faithful and loyal to him, and then marched against Sulaymán, who had moved from Sárí to Dúʾ-Áb. The Mas-mughán advised that white flags should be fixed to the trees in front of his camp, so that he might suppose that it was the Sayyid's camp; and that meanwhile they should secretly go by way of Banahra to Wínábád and attack the enemy in the rear, so that they might suppose they were hemmed in between two bodies of the enemy. By this device they succeeded in defeating Sulaymán, and marched on Sárí, while the Daylamites looted the *bázárs*, killing and plundering. Sulaymán, abandoning his wives, children and relatives, fled precipitately, while of his chief supporters ʿAnátúr [b.] Bakhtánsháh, Abuʾl-Aʿazz Muḥammad b. Qays, Muḥammad b. Kathír, Gushnasf b. Más, Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbás, Muḥammad b. al-Walíd, Músá b. al-Kátib, ʿAlí b. Manṣúr, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbduʾlláh al-Qáḍí were killed, while the two ambassadors captured in the boat were, by order of the Sayyid, hanged. This victory took place on Thursday, Dhuʾl-Ḥijja 8, (A. H. 250 = January 10, A. H. 865). Sulaymán's wife and children were taken captive, and when he reached Astarábád, he wrote a letter to Muḥammad b. Ḥamza for him to lay before Ḥasan b. Zayd, couched as follows (f. 112*b*):

اكرمك اللّه بطاعته و ابقاك فى سعادته و اتمّ نعمته عليك برحمته

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من ٱحْتَجْتُ معه الى التعداد و التطويل فى ذكر ما يجب لى عليه من بين هذا الخلق فانت منهم غَنِيٌّ عن ذلك لمعرفتك بما قدم و حدث و علمك بنيّتى و ٱلْتحافى عليكم اهل البيت فى وقت المخافة و الصعوبة و قبلك اكرمك الله جماعةٌ من عيالى و ذوى رحمى و متحرّمين بى و منقطعين الىّ و انت احقّ بحياطتهم و حياطة الدار فانّ الآثار قد تقدّمت بما تُمْتَنُّ فَلَا تُحْسِرْ و أَرْجُو أَنْ يكون هذا بَلَغَ قَيِّمًا وَ أَنْجَعَ و السّلام،

On reading this letter, the Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd sent Sulaymán's wife and children and kinsmen to him with all honour and protection, and wrote with his own hand the following verse at the top of his letter:

لا حَيْفَ فى ديننا و لا أَثَرَه بالسّيف نعلو جماجم الكفره
يا قومنا بَيْعَتَانِ واحدةٌ هاتى و هاتاك بيعة الشجره
رُدُّوا علينا تراث والدنا خَاتَمَهُ وَ ٱلْقَضِيبَ وَ ٱلْحبره
و بيت ذى العرش سلّموه لنا يليه منّا عصابةٌ طهره
فَطَالَمَا دُنِّسَتْ مشاعره و أَظْهَرَتْ فيه فسقها الفجره

The Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár took refuge with the Mas-mughán, whom he induced to intercede for him with Ḥasan b. Zayd, to whom he took the oath of allegiance, and to whose court he sent his two sons Surkháb and Mázyár. And all this happened in the year A. H. 252 (A. D. 866).

Thereafter enmity arose between the Mas-mughán and Faḍl-i-Rafíqí, and the former took to the forests. Ḥasan b. Záyd tried by kind messages to induce him to return, but he refused, alleging that he was afraid of the Daylamites, and became a rebel. Then Ḥasan b. Zayd marched to Lankúr-khán and burned all the corn in the country, and sent Qárin in pursuit of him, but he fled away. Then Ḥasan b. Zayd came

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to Sárí, where news was brought (f. 113*a*) to him that Jálí the son of Lashkar-sitán was tyrannizing over the people of Ámul, when some of them revolted and slew him. He thereupon despatched Muḥammad b. Ibráhím to investigate the matter, and ten days later followed him himself. When he reached Tarícha, his cousin Qásim b. ᶜAlí b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd came from ᶜIráq, and he bestowed on him robes of honour and costly presents, and sent him to Ámul, while he himself remained at Tarícha. He arrested Surkháb the son of the Ispahbad Qárin and his brother Mázyár, and put them in bonds, and sent Sayyid Ḥasan b. Jaᶜfar al-ᶜAqíqí to Sárí, giving him the government of that district and bidding him capture the Mas-mughán. Sayyid ᶜAqíqí wrote in a conciliatory strain to the Mus-mughán, and induced him to join him and apologize for his flight and rebellion. Rustam the son of Qárin, however, revolted at Mihrawán, and rendered the roads unsafe; but he sent Hurmuzd-káma the son of Yazdánkard and ᶜAbbás b. al-ᶜAqílí against him. Rustam b. Zabarqán met the supporters of Muḥammad b. Núḥ, slew some and took others captive, captured Muḥammad b. Núḥ, and brought him to Mihrawán. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad ᶜAqíqí, being informed of this, sent to Ḥasan b. Zayd informing him that he had gone to Mihrawán to fight the enemy. Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd, who was then at Jamanú, at once came to Sárí, and there joined Sayyid Ḥasan ᶜAqíqí, who had returned victorious, having slain many, and captured some 400 prisoners, abode for a while at Sárí, until he heard that Ibráhím b. Muᶜádh was sending re-inforcements to the Ispahbad Qárin b. Shahriyár, who was marching against him. So the Sayyid took the initiative, attacked his highland territory, slew all whom he met, and burned down houses and villages. Then he again took up his quarters at Sárí for a while, left Sayyid Ḥasan ᶜAqíqí in charge of that district, and returned to Ámul, whence he issued a proclamation to all the

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Regions of Ṭabaristán bidding them add the [Shíʿite] clause "*ḥayya ila khayriʾl-ʿamal*" to the call to prayer, and to say the *Bismiʾlláh* aloud in their prayers (f. 113*b*), and the like. This proclamation ran as follows:

تأمرهم بأخذ الرّعايا بما فيه جُمْلَةً قد رَأَيْنَا ان تَأْخُذَ اهل عملك بالعمل بكتاب اللّه و سُنّة رسوله صلّى اللّه عليه و آله و ما صحّ من امير المؤمنين علي بن ابى طالب عليه السلام فى اصول الدين و فروعه و باظهار تفضيله على جميع الامّة و تنهاهم اشدّ النَهْيِ عن القول بالجبر و التشبيه مكايدة الموحّدين القائلين بالعدل و التوحيد و عن التحكّك بالشّيعة و عن الرواية فى تفضيل اعداء اللّه و اعداء امير المؤمنين و تأمرهم بالجهر ببسم اللّه الرّحمن الرّحيم و بالقنوت فى صلوة الفجر و التكبيرات الخمس على الميّت و ترك المسح على الخُفّيْن و بالحاق حيّ على خير العمل فى الاذان و الاقامة و ان تجعل الاقامة مَثْنَى مَثْنَى و تُحَذِّرَ مَنْ تَعَدّى أَمْرَنَا فليس لمن خالف امرنا و رأينا الّا سفك دمه و انتهاك محارمه فقد اعذرنا من أَنْذَرْنَا،

On this same day Abú Muqátil aḍ-Ḍarír the poet recited to the Sayyid a *qaṣída* which began "God is peerless and the son of Zayd is peerless" —

اللّه فرد و ابن زيد فرد،

Ḥasan b. Zayd the *Daʿí* cried out at him in anger, and at once prostrated himself on the ground and repeated again and again, "God is peerless and the son of Zayd is a slave" —

اللّه فرد و ابن زيد عبد،

Then he ordered the poet to be driven from his presence. A few days later he returned with these verses:

أَنَا مَن عَصَاهُ لِسَانُهُ فِى شِعْرِهِ و لربّما ضَرَّ اللبيبَ لسانُهُ
هَبْنِي أَسَأْتُ أَما رأيتم كافرًا نجّاه من طغيانه ايمانه

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Yet still the Sayyid was displeased with him, until on the festival of Mihrajáu he composed and recited another *qaṣída* beginning:

لَا تَقُلْ بُشْرَى وَ لٰكِنْ بُشْرَيَانْ
غُرَّةُ ٱلدَّاعِى وَ يَوْمُ ٱلْمِهْرَجَانْ (f. 114*a*)

Then he turned to the poet and said that he ought to have transposed these two hemistichs, so as to avoid the evil omen of beginning the poem with the negation *lá*; but the poet replied, "O Sayyid, the most noble formula is '*Lá iláha illa ʾlláh*' ('There is no god but God'), yet that begins with *lá*." "Well said! well said," cried the Sayyid; "thou art right in this verse!"

It is related that one day the Sayyid was passing through the streets and markets of Ámul when he saw written on a wall the words "*the Qurʾán is the Uncreated Word of God, and whosoever calls it Created is an infidel.*" He reined in his horse and paused for a while to look at it, and then rode on. As a rule it was his custom not to return by the way he had come, but on this occasion he departed from his custom, and came back by that same spot. On arriving there, he perceived that the inhabitants of the quarter had effaced the writing, whereupon he smiled to himself and said, "*By Alláh, they have saved themselves from slaughter!*"

The Sayyid remained at Ámul all the months of Shaʿbán, Ramaḍán and Shawwál, while Ḥasan-i-ʿAqíqí continued at Sárí, until Muḥammad b. Núḥ joined the Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár, and the Mas-mughán became their ally, and they marched on Sárí conjointly. ʿAqíqí retired before them to Tarícha, and Ḥasan b. Zayd sent Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad and Layth b. Fana with a thousand men to help him. Setting out from Tarícha, they first fell in with the Mas-mughán, defeated him, and slew his brother ʿAbbás. Then they turned, advanced on Sárí, attacked Muḥammad

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b. Núḥ at a place called Girda-zamín, four parasangs from the city, and defeated him. Layth b. Fana shewed the greatest courage; and it was chiefly by his efforts that the victory was won. Next night Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-ᶜAqíqí made a sudden attack and slew many of them, and carried off much spoil, and Muḥammad b. Núḥ joined Sulaymán b. ᶜAbdu'lláh [b.] Ṭáhír at Astarábád, and both retired together to Gurgán. Sulaymán is reported to have said: "One day I passed over to Gurgán with four comrades (*khayl-tásh*) to a place called Sulaymán-ábád. I heard a voice saying:

كم تُهْزَمُونَ وكم تَخْفَى خُيُولُكُمْ هذا فِعَالُ دبيرٍ فى المدابيرِ

When I looked back, I saw no one, and knew not who had spoken." After this Sulaymán abandoned all idea of conquering Ṭabaristán, and retired into Khurásán.

Ṭabaristán is finally subjugated by Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd.

When Sulaymán b. ᶜAbdu'lláh [b.] Ṭáhir retired from Ṭabaristán, Sayyid Ḥasan took possession of the whole country, and was henceforth reckoned its ruler. He persecuted and slew all such as sympathized with the ᶜAbbásids (*Musawwida*), till men were filled with the fear of him, and thought of nothing save how to obey and please him. On Wednesday, Dhu'l-Ḥijja 3, A. H. 253 (= December 4, A. D. 867) he gave standards to Muḥammad b. Ibráhím and Lashkarsitán-i-Daylamí and sent them to Gurgán, and everywhere the people came out to meet them and made offerings to them. During the whole of this month and the months of Muḥarram and Ṣafar, A. H. 254 (January and February A. D. 868) the Daylamites remained with them, but when they found there were no spoils to be got, they entirely abandoned Muḥammad b. Ibráhím. After ten days he arrived

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alone at Sárí from Gurgán. At the beginning of Rabíᶜ I, A. H. 254 (March, A. D. 868) Sayyid Ḥasan sent an army against the Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár, the king of the Mountains, to Hazár-garí, where they burned all the crops and destroyed the houses. When he reached Sárí, Justán the son of Wah-súdán sent a trusty messenger to the Sayyid, asking him to send a representative in whom he had confidence to conquer by his aid the kingdom of Ray. So the Sayyid sent to him Aḥmad b. ᶜIsá b. ᶜAlí b. al-Ḥasan, and part of the territories of Ray were captured by them, and the Sayyid came from Sárí to Ámul. Mázyár the son of Qárin and Shahriyár escaped from their captivity, and on Friday, the 2nd of Jumáda I, A. H. 254 (= April 29, A. D. 868) the Sayyid ordered their gaolers to receive exemplary punishment, and despatched the brother of the Masmughán Wandarand Wandád Hurmazd السفجي and Muḥammad b. Ibráhím to seek for the Ispahbad Qárin in the highlands; but he fled from them to Qúmish (f. 115*a*).

And now the Sayyids of the House of ᶜAlí and the Banú Háshim began to flock to Ṭabaristán from the Ḥijáz, Syria and ᶜIráq "according to the number of the leaves on the trees," and he gave them all welcome; and whenever he rode forth, he was surrounded by 300 ᶜAlawís with drawn swords as a body-guard. And on this the Sayyid Náṣir-i-kabír Ḥasan b. ᶜAlí says:

كَأَنَّ ٱبْنَ زَيْد حِينَ يَغْدُو بِقَوْمِهِ بُدُورُ سَمَاءٍ حَوْلَهُ أَنْجُمٌ زُهْرُ
فَيَا بُؤْسَ قَوْمٍ صَبَّحَتْهُمْ خُيُولُهُ وَ يَا نِعْمَ قَوْمٍ نَالَتْهُمْ جُودُهُ الْغُمْرُ

After this letters arrived from Aḥmad b. ᶜIsa and Qásim b. ᶜAlí, who were with Justán the son of Wah-súdán, announcing that the districts of Ray, Qazwín, Abhar, and Zangán had been occupied by them, and that the people had responded to their propaganda. Then the Sayyid again sent Muḥammad b. Ibráhím to Gurgán with his standard,

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and its people also submitted, and the Sayyid's rule was firmly established over a tranquil and obedient realm.

The Caliph al-Muʿtazz sends Músá b. Bughá and Mufliḥ with an army to Ṭabaristán.

Qásim b. ʿAlí al-ʿAlawí, who was in ʿIráq, seized ʿAbdu-ʾlláh b. ʿAzíz, one of the officers of the Ṭáhirids, and handed him over to Faḍl b. Marzubán, who took him to Ḥasan b. Zayd, advising him to keep him securely. It was the *ʿId-i-Aḍḥá* when the prisoner was brought to the Sayyid, who immediately ordered his head to be struck off. When this news reached the Caliph al-Muʿtazz at Baghdad, he at once despatched Músá b. Bughá and Mufliḥ with an army to ʿIráq. These met Justán the son of Wah-súdán and the Sayyids at Qazwín, defeated them, and slew many of the Daylamites, plundered their treasures, and came to Ray and thence to Qúmish and Gurgán, where they encamped. There they were joined by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad السكنى, the vice-gerent of Muḥammad b. Ṭáhir. Mufliḥ with the vanguard advanced to Tammísha. Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd (f. 115*b*) had reviewed an army of 10,000 men at Ámul, and with him was the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán; while Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-ʿAqíqí with his forces was at Sárí, on which Mufliḥ advanced with his hosts. ʿAqíqí for a long while held the bridge of Sárí with great valour, but was at length routed, and Mufliḥ came to Sárí and abode there three days, after which he set out for Ámul. Sayyid Ḥasan, because of the smallness of his force, retreated from Ámul to Jálús, where he was deserted by most of his men, and thence went to Kalár to seek help from the Daylamites, but none shewed any eagerness to help him. Mufliḥ remained at Ámul till Jumáda II, A. H. 255 (May—June A. D. 869), and then moved on to Jálús, halting at a place near there called ʿUmar-ábád. The Daylamites, being afraid of him,

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abandoned Ḥasan b. Zayd. At this juncture, however, Muflih received orders from Músá [b.] Bughá to return at once, which he did, travelling day and night, until at Gurgán he learned that the Caliph al-Muʿtazz biʾlláh Zubayr b. al-Mutawakkil had entrusted Gurgán to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad السكنى. So they retired to ʿIráq, and the people once more began to gather round Ḥasan b. Zayd, and brought him back to Ámul on Ramaḍán 22, A. H. 255 (= September 3 A. D. 869). Yazíd b. Khashm wrote bidding him come at once to Gurgán, which he did, accompanied by his army; and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad السكنى, induced by promises of favourable treatment, swore allegiance to him, and his affairs once again became prosperous and orderly.

Yaʿqúb b. Layth marches against Ṭabaristán.

Ṭáhir b. ʿAbduʾlláh, who was in control of Khurásán, was unable to govern his province with firmness; and at this time a man called "the Veiled Sayyid" (*Sayyid-i-Burqaʿí*) revolted at Baṣra and Wáṣiṭ in Sawád. This man is better known as "the Leader of the Ethiopians" (*Ṣáḥibuʾz-Zanj*), and ʿAlí, in some of his apocalyptic writings (ملاحم), gave tidings of his appearance, saying:

يا احنف كأنّى به وقد سار بالجيش الّذى لا يكون له غُبَارٌ ولا لُجُبٌ ولا قعقعة لجم ولا جمجمة خيل يُثيرُونَ ٱلْأَرْضَ (f. 116*a*) باقدامهم كأنّها اقدام النّعام ويل لِسَكَكِكُمْ ٱلْعَامِرَة والدور المزخرفة الّتى لها اجنحة كاجنحة النسور وخراطيم الفيلة من اولئك الّذين لا يُنْدَبُ قتيلهم ولا يُفْقَدُ غائبهم انا كَابُّ الدنيا لوجهها وقدرها بقدرها وناظرها بعينها،

Now it was at this juncture, while the Caliph and Ṭáhir b. ʿAbduʾlláh were occupied with these matters, that Yaʿqúb b. Layth, a brave and ambitious man, revolted and became

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powerful. For many troubles distracted Khurásán, where rebels and robbers arose on every side, but Yaʿqúb b. Layth aṣ-Ṣaffár ("the Copper-smith") was the most cunning and powerful of all. Originally of lowly origin and humble circumstances, he gathered a band of followers round him, and, owing to the weakness of the government, succeeded at last in dispossessing the governor of Sístán appointed by Ṭáhir b. ʿAbdu'lláh. He was then proclaimed king, marched on Khurásán, and seized the territories of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'lláh [b.] Ṭáhir, so that at length the Caliph thought it best to make over Khurásán to his control. Having taken Níshápúr he came to Dihistán, and sent secretly to سکنی, promising him Gurgán and Astarábád if he would abandon Sayyid Ḥasan and help him. So on the 1st of the month of Urdí-bihisht, A. H. 260 (Oct.—Nov., A. D. 874), they came together to Sárí and fought with Ḥasan ʿAqíqí, who fled to Ámul without halting, pursued by Yáʿqúb b. Layth with lanterns and torches. The Sayyid Ḥasan came from Ámul to Rúyán, while his followers abandoned him on all sides. Yaʿqúb b. Layth proceeded to Kalár, and Ḥasan retreated to Shírú. Jaʿqúb sent a message to the people of Shírú promising not to enter their territories if they would hand the Sayyid over to him, but they refused, incited thereunto by Kawkabán, one of the chief men of the place, and Yaʿqúb (f. 116*b*) was forced to retire. His baggage was cut off and plundered by the Daylamites, and he went to Kajú, and, by torture and threats, extorted from the people of Rúyán two years' taxes, so that they were left without food or clothes. He then made Layth b. Fana governor of Rúyán, Pádhúsbán governor of Ṭabaristán, and Qásim b. Muslim al-Khurásání, one of his own men, governor of Jálús, while he retired to Ámul. Immediately the people of Jálús attacked their new governor, burned his palace, and slew all his men. News of this was brought to Yaʿqúb, who

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returned, cut down the trees and burned the houses, and then marched on to Kandasán by way of Kalár, and thence to Rúyán. But all his camels were destroyed by the fly, rain and thunderstorms came on, and he entrenched himself in Ámul. No sooner had he arrived there than he heard that Ḥasan b. Zayd was coming, whereupon he emerged to the coast, and Ḥasan fled to Kúhpáya. Yaʿqúb then marched to Kurd-ábád by way of Nátil, exacted two years' taxes from the people of the plain, and thence returned to Ámul and Sárí. He continued altogether four months in Ṭabaristán, and then retired from Sárí by way of Qúmish to the neighbourhood of Ray, and wrote to his deputy in Sístán to release the ʿAlawís whom he had taken prisoner and give them money to go to their own country. One of then was Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd's brother, Abú ʿAbdi'lláh Muḥammad b. Zayd.

As soon as Yaʿqúb-i-Layth had quitted Ṭabaristán, Ḥasan b. Zayd came to Sárí with an army of Daylamites, and the people again gathered round him. He advanced without halting to Gurgán, when he was met by the news that his brother, mentioned above, had been released by Yaʿqúb, and was approaching. He went out to meet him with his whole army, and in Ṣafar, A. H. 263 (= November, A. D. 876) they met, and halted for the remainder of that month and the whole of Rabiʿ I at Gurgán, after which he returned to Ṭabaristán to see his mother. A predatory band of several thousand Turks, blood-thirsty infidels, had entered Dihistán (f. 117*a*) and were preparing to attack Ṭabaristán. Ḥasan b. Zayd was then at Gurgán. He placed Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Khurásání in command of the vanguard, consisting of 2000 Daylamites, and himself took command of the centre. They met the infidels at Shúra in Dihistán, and completely routed them. Muḥammad b. Tamím, known as Mardán-kulah was killed; and Ḥasan b. Zayd fought with great bravery, and

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pursued the fugitives till they were all killed or dispersed. His courage on that day marked an epoch.

Revolt of Layth b. Fana against Ḥasan b. Zayd, and invasion of Ṭabaristán by Shárí, the lieutenant of the House of Ṭáhir.

When Ḥasan b. Zayd arrived at Gurgán, news came from Ámul that Layth b. Fana had revolted, so he left Muḥammad b. Ibráhím al-ᶜAlawí at Gurgán and himself went to Ámul. The Daylamites refused to obey Muḥammad b. Ibráhím, and began to loot and otherwise misconduct themselves. He therefore wrote to Ḥasan b. Zayd, saying, "Thou knowest the evil character and vile nature of the Daylamites, and their rebelliousness against thy authority. They will not obey me, and the people are afflicted by them." But Ḥasan b. Zayd was occupied with Layth b. Fana, and had sent his army under Aḥmad b. ᶜIsá to Láriján, because its lord, Parwíz, had asked for help, representing that Layth b. Fana had gone to Ray, and had induced its governor to attack Láriján. He therefore sent his brother, Abú ᶜAbdi'lláh Muḥammad b. Zayd, to Gurgán.

Now there was a certain Daylamite named Dakiyya who had fled from Muḥammad with his people, and gone to Khurásán to Shárí, the lieutenant of the Ṭáhirids, whom he informed of the anarchy and unrest which prevailed in Gurgán, urging him to attack it, and promising to help him to obtain possession of it. So Shárí came from Isfará'in to Gurgán, and the Daylamites entirely deserted Muḥammad b. Zayd and Muḥammad b. Ibráhím, and went over to the invader. The two Sayyids came to Ámul, and waited until Shárí desired to provision his army, and sent out the Daylamites, unarmed, to forage for provisions (f. 117*b*). One of the chief man of Gurgán named Isḥáq said to Shárí, "Do

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not give wealth to the Daylamites without good cause, or else they will deal treacherously with thee, as they have ever dealt with their *amírs* and rulers; for no one hath experienced at their hands aught but insolence, oppression, and ungenerous conduct." The Daylamites were gathered together at Sulaymánábad; and the people of Gurgán, gentle and simple, were all afraid of the barbarities they might perpetrate. So Shárí and Isḥáq ordered them all to be put to the sword, and in one day 3000 of them were slain. News of this was brought to Ḥasan b. Zayd, and he was filled with malicious delight.

When it became known to Layth b. Fana that Shárí had taken Gurgán, he induced the Turk, who was the governor of Ray, to let him go to Ṭabaristán to take the country for him, and was permitted to proceed to Láriján. When he arrived, he found that Aḥmad b. ʿIsá and the Masmughán were both there, and had stopped all the roads, and cried threats and imprecations at them from the mountains. Layth b. Fana put his horse at the river, but was unable to cross. The Turk was afraid and said, "Surely he intends some treachery towards me." So he ordered him to be seized and his head to be cut off: and this he sent to Ḥasan b. Zayd, offering at the same time his apologies for having invaded the country. Immediately after this news arrived that Shári, having collected much wealth, was about to leave Gurgán, and the Sayyid Ḥasan at once proceeded thither with his army. Shárí fled to Khurásán, while Ḥasan b. Zayd entered Gurgán, slew many of the common people, and plundered their property.

Revolt of the Ispahbad Rustam the son of Qárin the son of Shahriyár and his relations with Ḥasan b. Zayd.

At this time the Daylamites were plundering, stealing, and causing great trouble in Gurgán, breaking into the

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houses of Muslims by night to rob and do evil, so that even unto Nísháp̣úr men were in terror of them. So Ḥasan-i-Zayd caused the hands and feet of a thousand of them to be cut off in Gurgán, in consequence of which some thousand of his followers deserted him and joined Rustam the son of Qárin, who, though (f. 118*a*) ostensibly declaring himself to be loyal to the Sayyid, was really bent on rebellion against his authority. When these Daylamites joined Rustam the son of Qárin, he had not sufficient food wherewith to feed them, so he suffered them to loot the countryside in search of provisions. Qásim b. ʿAlí, who was at Qúmish, wrote to him informing him that Muḥammad b. Mahdí b. Nírak was marching against him from Nísháp̣úr, and at the same time asked for help from Ḥasan b. Zayd. Qásim had not the least suspicion of the intentions of Rustam, and was quite off his guard, when the latter suddenly and treacherously attacked and captured him, imprisoned him in the castle of Sháh Dizh in Hazár-garí, and seized Qúmish. Sayyid Qásim died in the castle. Then Rustam sent to the governor of Nísháp̣úr, Aḥmad b. ʿAbdu'lláh Khujistání [1], telling him that the affairs of Ḥasan b. Zayd were in a precarious state, and asking for his help. Sayyid Ḥasan plundered Qúmish and chastised Rustam; but the death of his brother-in-law, Muḥammad b. Ibráhím b. ʿAlí b. ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán, broke his spirit, for he loved him greatly and held him in high esteem. All the army of Sayyid Ḥasan went over to his brother Abú ʿAbdi'lláh Muḥammad b. Zayd, who ordered them to attack the Ispahbad Rustam. When they had advanced one stage, the army of Nísháp̣úr under Khujistání had reached Gurgán, so he sent messengers to turn his brother back, abandoned Gurgán, and retired into Ṭammísha. Khujistání pursued him to Ribáṭ-i-Ḥafṣ, captured his treasures and baggage, and took many prisoners, but slew no one.

[1] See my translation of the *Chahár Maqála*, pp. 43—44.

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Muḥammed [b.] Zayd learned at Júhína that his brother had departed, and at Sárí rumour reached him that Ḥasan b. Zayd had been taken captive. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad ʿAqíqí assembled the people and received their oaths of allegiance to himself, beheading all who refused to take this oath. But at Sárí he was met by Ṭáhir b. Ibráhím [b.] Khalíl coming from Ḥasan b. Zayd, from whom he learned that Sayyid Ḥasan himself was approaching. Thereupon he fled from Sárí and joined the Ispahbad Rustam the son of Qárin, and though Ḥasan b. Zayd tried to win him back by kind messages, he returned no answer, but continued with the Ispahbad till Khujistání had established himself in Bakrábád in Gurgán and collected supplies. The Ispahbad remained at Astarábád until Khujistání went to Níshápúr, and the men of Gurgán attached themselves to ʿAqíqí, who protected them from the oppression of Khujistání, and excused them their taxes, and all of them swore allegiance to him. But presently Ḥasan b. Zayd collected an army in Ṭabaristán, who, by threes and by fours, began to set out for Astarábád. When he reached the village of Námina in Panjáh-hazár, he chose out 500 horsemen, and made a night attack on Astarábád, so that at day-break he surprised Rustam, who only succeeded in escaping on foot into the highlands. Ḥasan b. Zayd, without delaying, set out for Gurgán, where ʿAqíqí knew nothing of what had happened to Rustam at Astarábád. The Sayyid therefore took him quite by surprise, so that he fled with only three horsemen to the plains, pursued by Muḥammad b. Zayd, until he was finally captured and brought before Sayyid Ḥasan. As soon as his eyes fell on the Sayyid, he prayed for quarter, but the Sayyid, averting his face, bade Turk-i-Rúmí to cut off his head, after which they wrapped his body in a mantle and buried it in the Guebres' cemetery. Then the Sayyid sent his brother Muḥammad b. Zayd into the Ispahbad's highlands to

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pursue him, until at length, despairing, he sent messenger after messenger to beg for quarter, till at length the Sayyid wrote to his brother bidding him to spare the fugitive, but to seize all his possessions, and exact pledges that he would not in future maintain an army, all of which Muḥammad b. Zayd duly performed. On his return, his brother invested him with the standard and drum of authority, and sent him to Gurgán.

Death of Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd.

This year the Sayyid fell sick, so that he was unable to sit his horse (f. 119*a*) and he continued thus sick for a year, and finally expired on Monday, Rajab 3, A. H. 270 (= January 6, A. D. 884), twenty years after he first appeared in revolt. During his year's illness he bade Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibráhím, known as al-Qá'im, who was his son in law, to take from the people of Ṭabaristán the oath of allegiance to his brother Abú ʿAbdi'lláh Muḥammad b. Zayd.

Reign of Muḥammad b. Zayd over Ṭabaristán, and Revolt of Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn.

Muḥammad b. Zayd, with the title *ad-Dáʿí al-Kabír* ("the Great Missionary") received the oath of allegiance from the people of Ṭabaristán. He was at the time of his brother's death in Gurgán, and his son-in-law, Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn, seized the money which was in the treasury and expended it in inducing the people to swear allegiance to himself, which most of the Daylamite chiefs did. He was also joined by the Ispahbad Rustam the son of Qárin and Pádhúsbán.

When Muḥammad b. Zayd heard the news of his brother's death, he advanced on Ámul with his army, many of whom had been secretly won over to the interest of

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Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn, who tried to persuade some of them, such as Laythám the son of Wardán, and Abú Manṣúr Mahdí b. Mukhayyas, to slay Muḥammad b. Zayd at Ribáṭ-i-Hafṣ. They refused to kill him, having eaten his bread and salt, but deserted him, and turned back to Gurgán. He too turned back thither, but the inhabitants refused to admit him, and he therefore took up his quarters in the village of Zawín. Abu'l-Ḥusayn sent money and robes of honour for the people of the city, and bade them let Muḥammad b. Zayd remain where he was; and he dared not put his head outside Zawín until Ráfiᶜ b. Harthama returned defeated from Khurásán, and sent for Mahdí b. Mukhayyas, who was his servant, to come and meet him. Mahdí paid no heed to this message, whereupon Ráfiᶜ, divining Muḥammad b. Zayd's condition, sent (f. 119*b*) trusty men to him, brought him to his quarters and fought and defeated Mahdí b. Mukhayyas, who fled to Khurásán. Laythám-i-Daylam went to Abu'l-Ḥusayn, and ᶜAlí b. Surkháb was taken prisoner by Mahdí, but fled from him on the day of his defeat. Ráfiᶜ handed over Gurgán to Muḥammad b. Zayd and returned to Khurásán. One day Abu'l-Ḥusayn began to oppress his followers in order to enrich himself, and these consequently wrote in secret to Muḥammad b. Zayd invoking his assistance. He, having collected an army, arrived at Sárí on Wednesday, the first of Jumádá I, A. H. 271 (= October 25, A. D. 884), and Abu'l-Ḥusayn, who was there, fled from him to Ámul, whence he started at night to join Laythám and Nuᶜmán at Jálús and go to Daylam. On the Sunday Muḥammad b. Zayd reached Ámul, whence on the Tuesday he moved on to the village of Banafsh, whence he proceeded by night to Jálús, and there seized Abu'l-Ḥusayn, with Laythám and the other Daylamites who were with him, with much spoil. That night he went on to Khwájak, and reached Ámul, where, on Friday, the 6th of

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Jumáda I, he was crowned king. Abu'l-Ḥusayn, whose power had endured ten months, was cast into bonds, and pardon was proclaimed to his agents and officers, who thereupon submitted, and were made to render account of the moneys they had collected for their master. He also brought in Abu'l-Ḥusayn's sister, who was the widow of his late brother Ḥasan b. Zayd, and took from her all her jewels and gold ornaments, after which he released Abu'l-Ḥusayn, bidding all those from whom he had exacted money recover it from him. Thereupon the jurisconsults of Ámul bore witness against him of exactions amounting to a million *dirhams*, upon which he was again cast into bondage, and sent with Laythám-i-Daylam to Sárí, after which no one ever saw them again, and it was said that they were killed on the road thither.

So soon as Muḥammad b. Zayd was thus established as ruler of Ṭabaristán, he set out for the highlands against the Ispahbad Rustam the son of (f. 120*a*) Qárin, drove him out of the kingdom, and sent him to ʿAmr b. Layth the Ṣaffárí, who interceded for him; and pardon was granted to him on condition that he should swear henceforth to maintain no army, and to send all that he had to Muḥammad b. Zayd, and to pay all the tax and tribute which he had withheld. And Muḥammad b. Zayd established his capital at Gurgán where many retainers gathered round him, although he was unable to give him pay.

How Muḥammad b. Zayd attacked Ray; and what befel him with Ráfiʿ b. Harthama, and how an army invaded Ṭabaristán.

In Rabíʿ I, A. H. 272 (= Aug.—Sept., A. D. 885), Asatakín the Turk being governor of Ray, Muḥammad b. Zayd marched from Gurgán to Dámghán, and thence to Samnán and Khwár. A battle took place between him and the

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army of ʿIráq at Wah-rádhán, near Ray, in which Muḥammad b. Zayd was defeated and fled to Lárijān. Ráfiʿ b. Harthama then invaded Gurgán, but troubles in Khurásán obliged him to go to Níshápur. In A. H. 273 (A. D. 886—887) Muḥammad b. Zayd returned to Ámul, and celebrated the circumcision of his son Zayd, whom he nominated as his successor, joining his name with his own on the coinage and in the *khuṭba*. On the arrival of Ráfiʿ in Khurásán the troubles there ceased, and the quarrel between Naṣr and Ismáʿíl, the sons of Núḥ the Sámánid, was terminated. Ráfiʿ then marched against Khwárazm, with the people of which he had already waged war; and carried off thence ten thousand (f. 120*b*) men as hostages.

What befel between Muḥammad b. Zayd and the Ispahbad Rustam the son of Qárin; and how an army invaded Ṭabaristán.

Rustam, dispossessed by the Sayyid, fled to Ráfiʿ, and seven months later returned to Ṭabaristán with him at the head of an army. — The Sayyid, unable to withstand them, retreated from Gurgán to the castle of Juhína, where he was besieged for six months. At the end of this period he left a *kotwál* in charge of the castle, and himself escaped to Tammísha. Soon afterwards the castle capitulated to Ráfiʿ, before whom the Sayyid fell back on Daylamán. In the beginning of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 277 (= March, A. D. 891) he was still at Kajú, while the people suffered the direst distress from the invaders. The Daylamites came to the Sayyid's assistance; and Justán the son of Wah-súdán descended from the highlands to help him. Ráfiʿ commanded his governor at Jálús, Muḥammad b. Hárún, to remain within his fortifications, and sent Rustam son of Qárin, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Wandawayh, ʿAlí b. al-Ḥasan al-Marwazí, ʿAbdu'lláh b. al-Ḥasan, and the son of the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Pádhúsbán

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to Jálús by the sea-shore, while he himself came to Ahlam. (f. 121*a*) Muḥammad b. Hárún thereupon came out of Jálus and pursued his foes. Owing to the exactions of Ráfiᶜ provisions become scarce and dear. At the beginning of Ṣafar, A. H. 278 (middle of May, A. D. 891) Ráfiᶜ marched from Jálús by way of Ṭálaqán in pursuit of Justán the son of Wah-súdán, and laid waste his territory. Finally Justán promised not to help the Sayyid, whereupon Ráfiᶜ withdrew to Qazwín. The Sayyid now marched on Gílán, while Ráfiᶜ came from Qazwín to Ray. Al-Muᶜtaḍid biʾlláh, who succeeded about this time to the Caliphate, sent a messenger to summon Ráfiᶜ to his presence, but Ráfiᶜ seized the messenger and imprisoned him, though he afterwards let him go. The Caliph then appointed Abuʾl-ᶜAbbás Aḥmad b. [ᶜAbd] al-ᶜAzíz b. Abú Dulaf al-ᶜIjlí governor of ᶜIráq, and ordered him to give battle to Ráfiᶜ, who was defeated with heavy loss by the Caliph's troops on the river Kulahwár on Friday, Dhuʾl-Qaᶜda 18, and was compelled to fall back (f. 121*b*) on Ṭabaristán by way of Wíma.

Ráfiᶜ makes peace with Muḥammad b. Zayd.

When Ráfiᶜ reached Mihrawán, he heard that the Caliph al-Muᶜtaḍid had given the government of Níshápúr to ᶜAmr b. Layth, whereupon he took the oath of allegiance to Muḥammad b. Zayd, on condition that he should hold Gurgán. On Tuesday, the 5th of Rabíᶜ II, the latter came to Ámul, and Ráfiᶜ went to Gurgán. At this juncture news arrived that Aḥmad al-ᶜIjlí, the Caliph's governor, had died at Ray, and that his son had succeeded him. Thereupon, on the 7th of Jumádá I, Ráfiᶜ marched on Ray, attacked and defeated him, and sent his army to Kúh-páya. A month later al-Muᶜtaḍid sent his son [1] to Ray, whereupon Ráfiᶜ abandoned the country.

[1] [i. e. ᶜAlí, afterwards al-Muktafí. He was invested with the Government of Ray in Rajab, A. H. 281 (= September, A. D. 894) by his father, who

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Ibn [Abi'l-] Aṣbagh, the deputy of the Caliph's son, ruled justly, and reduced the country to order. In this same year Bakr b. ʿAbdu'l-ʿAzíz al-ʿIjlí came to Sayyid Muḥammad b. Zayd at Ámul, and was received by him with much honour and many gifts, including a million *dirhams* made up into a hundred bags, and was finally given the government of Rúyán and Jálús. On his arrival at Nátil, however, he was poisoned in some sherbet (شراب), and was buried there at the Bridge of Laythám. Ráfiʿ, returning defeated to Gurgán, wished to attack ʿAmr b. Layth, encouraged thereto by an officer who had deserted from that Amír. He besieged Níshápúr, but ʿAmr remained within the walls. While fighting was going on round the city between the troops of Ráfiʿ and those of Muḥammad b. Hárún, Abú Naṣr-i-Ṭabarí, Mahdí b. Mukhayyas and (f. 122*a*) Faḍl b. Jaʿfar, ʿAmr with 5000 men suddenly attacked and defeated them. Ráfiʿ and ʿAmr b. Layth both sought help from the Sayyid, but he refused to help Ráfiʿ, who, after various further misfortunes from rain and flood, was compelled to make peace and to renew his treaties with him.

How Ráfiʿ took captive the Ispahbad Rustam.

Ráfiʿ soon informed the Ispahbad Rustam that he had no intention of observing his new treaty with the Sayyid, and, on Rustam's allying himself with ʿAmr b. Layth, proceeded to seize him and put him in bonds, confiscated all his property, extorted large sums of money from his retainers, and gave his country to Abú Naṣr-i-Ṭabarí. In Ramaḍán, A. H. 282 (= October—November, A. D. 895) Rustam died in his bondage.

In this year the Sayyid Muḥammad b. Zayd gave money to Ráfiʿ to induce him to adopt the white badge and

at the same time appointed Aḥmad b. Abí'l-Aṣbagh as his son's *kátib*. See Ṭabarí, III, p. 2140. A. G. E.].

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standard of the ᶜAlawís, and to exact from the men of Gurgán, Dihistán (f. 122*b*) and Jájarm the oath of allegiance to him; while he on his part sent the Sayyid a share of Rustam's plundered possessions. A quarrel now arose between Muḥammad b. Wahsúdán and ᶜAlí b. Surkháb, and the former, having killed some of the latter's men, went to Kílárján, and was reported to have cast off his allegiance. Ráfiᶜ again marched against ᶜAmr b. Layth, but was again defeated, and fled to Khwárazm, the inhabitants of which city, having an ancient grudge against him, seized him, cut off his head, and sent it to ᶜAmr b. Layth, who sent it on to the Caliph. After this all Ṭabaristán from Gurgán to Gílán became the Sayyid's secure possession. In A. H. 282 (A. D 895—6) news arrived that Ismáᶜíl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid had captured ᶜAmr b. Layth and put him to death, and the Sayyid was now freed from all anxiety; but just as his power, glory, fame and good repute seemed to be at their height, calamity befel him, even as the poet says:

كَذَاكَ كُسُوفُ ٱلْبَدْرِ عِنْدَ تَمَامِهِ.

Cause of the Martyrdom of Sayyid Muḥammad b. Zayd in his war with Muḥammad b. Hárún.

Ismáᶜíl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid sent Muḥammad b. Hárún with an army (f. 123*a*) against Ṭabaristán. Sayyid Muḥammad b. Zayd, confident in his power (for he had 20,000 men with him, and his antagonist only 3000), attacked the centre of his enemy's army with a mere handful of men, and was the first person slain. His head was cut off, his great army scattered, and his son Abu'l-Ḥusayn taken prisoner on Friday, Shawwál 5, A. H 287 (= October 3, A. D. 900). The Sayyid's headless body was buried at Gurgán in a place still known as Gúr-i-Dáᶜí ("the Propagandist's Grave"), and his head was sent to Bukhárá. He reigned in all sixteen

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years. His son Zayd was for a long while kept a prisoner by Ismaʿíl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid at Bukhárá, whence he sent these verses to his friends in Ṭabaristán:

أَسِجْنٌ وَ قَيْدٌ وَ ٱشْتِيَاقٌ وَ غُرْبَةٌ، وَ نَأْيٌ حَبِيبٍ إِنَّ ذَا لَثَقِيلُ،
أَيَا شَجَرَاتِ ٱلْجَوْنِ فِي شَطِّ هُرْمُزٍ، لَشَوْقِي إِلَىٰ أَفْيَائِكُنَّ طَوِيلُ،
أَلَا هَلْ إِلَىٰ شَمِّ ٱلْبَنَفْسَجِ فِي ٱلضُّحَىٰ، بِخُشْكُرُودَ مِنْ قَبْلِ ٱلْمَمَاتِ سَبِيلُ،

These verses were shewn to Ismaʿíl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid, who was so much affected by them that he released his captive, saying, "Thou hast thy choice of returning to Ṭabaristán or of remaining here." He replied, "The affairs of Ṭabaristán have gone beyond the point that there should be any place for me there; it is best for me to remain here." And so he lived, died and was buried in Bukhárá. Three sons of his are mentioned in the genealogical tree of the House of Abú Ṭálib (شجرة انساب طالبيّه), *viz.* Abú ʿAlí Ismaʿíl b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Zayd, who migrated to Bukhárá; Abú ʿAbdi'lláh Muḥammad ar-Riḍá (f. 123*b*), whose descendants are settled at Baghdad; and Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Zayd.

Account of Muḥammad b. Hárún and the rule of Ismaʿíl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid.

Muḥammad b. Hárún, having subdued Gurgán, set out for Ámul and Sárí, reaching the first named city on a Friday in the month of Tír, A. H. 287 (A. D. 900), and reigned for a year and six months, till Ismaʿíl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid, having subdued the whole of Khurásán, marched against Ṭabaristán. Muḥammad b. Hárún refused to submit to his authority, and retired to Daylamán. Ismaʿíl encamped at a place called Ashílá Dasht, near Ámul, in the plain of Líkání, and administered such justice as was almost unknown in

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Ṭabaristán, restoring to the nobles and gentry the property of which they had been robbed by the Sayyids and others during the last fifty years. Thus he restored —

1,000,000	*dirhams*	to	the children of Ibráhím Khalíl;
600,000	„	„	Ibráhím b. Isḥáq al-Faqíh;
500,000	„	„	Muḥammad b. al-Mughíra of Rúyán;
500,000	„	„	Hárún b. ᶜAlí Abú Ṣádiq (see p. 74 *supra*);
200,000	„	„	Muḥammad b. as-Sirrí;
300,000	„	„	Muqátil, cousin of the above;
500,000	„	„	the Ispahbad of Kalár;
300,000	„	„	Quṭquṭí of Sárí;
700,000	„	„	Qárin, Aparwíz and Khushk Khayán;
1,200,000	„	„	the family of aṣ-Ṣayfar (so A.; B. has aṣ-Ṣafír);
100,000	„	„	Surkháb the son of Jastán;
700,000	„	„	Ibráhím and Muḥammad, sons of jurisconsults, Ibráhím b. Mihrán, his brother Khalífa, Manṣúr and Jalwánán, all of Tarícha.

He also restored the possessions of the poor and reduced their taxes, and so won the affection and support of all. This took place at the end of A. H. 288 and the beginning of A. H. 289 (end of A. D. 901).

The Rebellion of Sayyid Náṣir-i-Kabír (f. 124*a*).

Sayyid Náṣir-i-Kabír's name was Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlí, and he revolted in Gílán and Daylamán, declaring himself "the Avenger" (*ath-Thá'ir*) of his predecessor, Sayyid Muḥammad b. Zayd, called *Dáᶜi 'l-Ḥaqq* ("the Propagandist of the Truth"). Ismaᶜíl the Sámánid sent against him his son Aḥmad and his cousin Abu'l-ᶜAbbás ᶜAbdu'lláh b. Muḥammad b. Núḥ. The armies met at a place called Falás,

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and the Daylamites were defeated and two thousand of them slain, amongst them the fathers of the afterwards celebrated Mákán [b.] Kákí and of Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, the subsequent rulers of Gíl and Daylam.

Ismá'íl the Sámánid entrusts the government of Ṭabaristán to his cousin Abu'l-'Abbás 'Abdu'lláh b. Muḥammad b. Núḥ b. Asad.

Ismá'íl the Sámánid, having entrusted the government of Ṭabaristán to his cousin Abu'l-'Abbás, set out for 'Iráq to seek for Muḥammad b. Hárún. On reaching Samnán, he received tidings of the death of the Caliph al-Mu'taḍid (A. H. 289 = A. D. 902). Muḥammad b. Hárún effected a junction with Justán [b.] Wah-súdán, and both swore allegiance to Sayyid Náṣir-i-Kabír. In A. H. 290 (A. D. 903) the latter resolved on subjugating Ṭabaristán. Abu'l-'Abbás summoned to his aid the Ispahbad Shahriyár, son of Pádhúsbán; the Ispahbad Sharwín, son of Rustam, king of the mountains; and the nephew of the latter, Parwíz, the lord of Láriján, and further wrote to Ismá'íl the Sámánid asking for help. In the month of Bahman, A. H. 299 (So A.; ? 289) Muḥammad b. Hárún, Justán [b.] Wahsúdán, and Sayyid Náṣir reached Tamanjáda, and encamped in a plain known as Kázar. The war lasted forty days, and the people of Ámul in fear sent their children and goods to the country villages. At length the army of Abu'l-'Abbás seemed to be defeated, and began to flee in rout to Mámṭír, but he, with Shahriyár (f. 124*b*) and Kawkabán of Daylam, hurled himself upon the centre of the army of Muḥammad b. Hárún, who, deeming the victory already won, had removed one foot from his stirrup and crossed it over his horse's neck. His army, taken thus unawares, was routed, and fled to Anúshadádhán.

Ismá'íl the Sámánid had sent his son Aḥmad to help Abu'l-'Abbás, but he tarried on the way, hoping that his

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cousin might be defeated. Abu'l-ᶜAbbás complained of this to Ismáᶜíl, who recalled Aḥmad to Bukhárá, and reproached him, saying, "Thou pretendest that if Ṭabaristán be lost, no harm will accrue to Bukhárá. Dost thou not know that, should such a thing happen, we should no longer be safe here?" Abu'l-ᶜAbbás then went to Ray, and sent to Fáris, governor of Gurgán, bidding him be on his guard until Muḥammad b. Hárún's death. Fáris forwarded this letter to Bukhárá, and requested Ismáᶜíl to send him his insignia, standard and ring. Muḥammad b. Hárún again collected an army and came to Ámul. Fáris spread abroad a rumour that Ismáᶜíl was come, and on the day of battle stationed one of his officers dressed in Ismáᶜíl's robes, wearing his insignia, and bearing his standard in the centre of the army. Then he came to Muḥammad b. Hárún with ten men, saying, "O man, art thou mad to come and draw the sword against thy master? Lo, he sends me with his army and his signet-ring, promising thee pardon and safety and the government of this province." Muḥammad b. Hárún, seeing the signet-ring and other insignia, was confounded, and said to his men, "Do you remain where you are;" (f. 125*a*) then he said to Fáris, "Advance, let us go to the Master!" Thus Fáris brought him to the centre of his own army, where he at once cast him to the ground, put him in fetters, and carried him off prisoner. Of his army, some joined Fáris, others went to Baghdad, and the remainder stayed in Ṭabaristán. Muḥammad b. Hárún was carried to Bukhárá, paraded round the town, and then immured and starved to death. And so long as Ismáᶜíl the Sámánid lived, Abu'l-ᶜAbbás ruled Ṭabaristán from Gurgán to Gílán.

Aḥmad b. Ismáᶜíl the Sámánid sends Salám to govern Ṭabaristán.

Ismáᶜíl on his death was succeeded by his son Aḥmad,

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in A. H. 294 (= A. D. 906—7). After two years and a few months he dismissed Abu'l-ʿAbbás, whom he hated, from the government of Ṭabaristán, and in A. H. 297 (= A. D. 909—910) sent to succeed him a Turk named Salám. His father's officers, such as Abú Ṣáliḥ Manṣúr and Fáris, were disgusted at this, and wished to swear allegiance to Abu'l-ʿAbbás, who sought to retire to Gurgán to effect a junction with Fáris, but was stopped by Hurmazd-Káma, the lord of Tammísha, Rustam the son of Qárin, and the Ispahbad Shahriyár. He therefore returned to Ámul, and tried to go thence by Kajú and Rúyán to Ray, but the Ispahbad Shahriyár met him at Injír and persuaded him to refrain from any act of rebellion. At this juncture Muḥammad b. Ḥajar arrived as an ambassador from Aḥmad b. Ismáʿíl the Sámánid, bringing a robe of honour and conciliatory messages (f. 125*b*), and conducted him to Bukhárá, where the Sámánid nobles advised that he should be treated with honour and sent at the head of 30,000 horsemen to ʿIráq. In Jumáda I, A. H. 297 (= January—February, A. D. 910) Salám the Turk came to Ámul, on the first day of the old Persian month of Ádhar, and governed the country for 9 months and 22 days, till one day Abú Aḥmad Zanrás (B. "Zanráshan") of Náṣirábád came before him to complain of the exorbitant taxes which he was compelled to pay, and was answered by blows; whereupon he rushed out and raised the people against the Turk, whom, after he had fired the bázár and repelled them for three days and nights, they drove out of the city.

Aḥmad b. Ismaʿíl sends Aḥmad b. Núḥ to govern Ṭabaristán.

Thereupon Abu'l-ʿAbbás Aḥmad was made governor of Ṭabaristán, and he was accompanied by the son of Dhu'r-Riyásatayn.

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The Russians come over the sea to plunder Ṭabaristán.

This year 16 ships filled with Russians came to Ábasgún, as they had already done in the time of Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd, who defeated and slew them. This time they wasted and looted Ábasgún and the adjacent coasts, and carried off or slew many Musulmáns. The governor of Sárí, Abu'ḍ-Ḍarghám Aḥmad b. al-Qásim, wrote news of this to Abu'l-ᶜAbbás. Next year the Russians returned in greater force, burned Sárí and Panjáh-hazár, and carried off many prisoners. Then they sailed to Chashma-Rúd in Daylamán; but, while some of them were on land, a number of the people of Gílán descended to the sea-shore (f. 126*a*), burned their ships, and slew those who had landed. Shírwánsháh, King of the Khazars, hearing of this, intercepted such of their ships as had escaped and destroyed them and their crews, and thenceforth the marauding raids of the Russians were stopped. Abu'l-ᶜAbbás Aḥmad b. Núḥ died in Ṣafar, A. H. 298 (= October, A. D. 910).

Aḥmad b. Ismáᶜíl sends Muḥammad b. Ṣaᶜlúk to Ṭabaristán.

When news of the death of Abu'l-ᶜAbbás reached Aḥmad the Sámánid he made Muḥammad b. Ṣaᶜlúk, who was then at Ray, governor of Ṭabaristán, and sent his wazír Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdu'lláh al-Balᶜamí from Bukhárá to meet him. They met near Ámul at a place called Báshír, and Muḥammad b. Ilísaᶜ was also there.

Rebellion of Sayyid Náṣir-i-Kabír.

This Sayyid, whose name was Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlí, had for some time been engaged in study and

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teaching in Gílán. On the return of al-Balʿamí to Bukhárá, and the arrival of Muḥammad b. Ṣaʿlúk at Ámul, the people of Fajam, Maraz, and all Gíl and Daylam flocked to him. He sent his son Abuʾl-Ḥusayn Aḥmad to Rúyán, and thence expelled the Sámánid governor Muhím. Náṣir-i-Kabír then went to Kalár, and there received the allegiance of its Ispahbad Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. Thence he proceeded to Gúr-Shír and Jálús, sending on his cousin Ḥasan b. al-Qásim with the vanguard to take Jálús. Muḥammad b. Ṣaʿlúk had advanced to Búrábád with 15,000 men. Then a battle was fought (f. 126*b*), in which Ibn Ṣaʿlúk was defeated, and many of his soldiers slain. On a Sunday in Jumáda II, A. H. 301 (= January, A. D. 914) Sayyid Náṣir advanced to Jálús, captured Abuʾl-Wafá Khalífa b. Núḥ, slew the Khurásání garrison, and razed the fortress to the ground. Ibn Ṣaʿlúk fled by way of Ámul, Málika Dasht, Sárí and Gurgán to Ray. Two days later Sayyid Náṣir came to Ámul and established himself in the Palace formerly occupied by Ḥasan b. Zayd. He treated all with the utmost justice, pardoned such as had offended him, and received the allegiance of the people of Ámul and the neighbourhood. Then ʿAbduʾlláh b. al-Ḥasan raised the white standard at Sárí, and summoned the people to support Sayyid Náṣir.

Quarrel between the Ispahbad Shahriyár and Náṣir, and arrival of an army from Bukhárá to subdue Sayyid Náṣir.

ʿAqíqí joined Sayyid Náṣir, and, having been given an army of Gílís and Daylamís, was sent to fight the Ispahbad Shahriyár. Between Áram and Kúlá, however, he fell into an ambush prepared for him by Shahriyár, and was slain. His troops fled, and his head was sent by Shahriyár to Ibn Ṣaʿlúk. When news of Sayyid Náṣir's rising power reached

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Bukhárá, Aḥmad the Sámánid sent Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'l-ʿAzíz to Ṭabaristán, but forty days after his arrival there he was defeated by Sayyid Náṣir, whose power now became paramount over Ṭabaristán. He wished to raise a tax of one-tenth on all produce, but the people complained, and he desisted from his intention. Aḥmad the Sámánid collected 30,000 of his own troops and sent to Turkistán for 10,000 more, intending to "transport the very earth of Ṭabaristán to Bukhárá" (f. 127*a*), but when he had only gone two stages on his journey, his attendants murdered him at midnight as he slept, and Sayyid Náṣir was for the moment left unmolested. Soon afterwards the Caliph al-Muqtadir bi'lláh appointed Aḥmad the Sámánid's son Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Ismaʿíl (Naṣr I) regent of Khurásán in place of his father, and he, incited by the messengers of Hurmazd-Káma and Sharwín the son of Rustam, sent Ilyás b. Ilísaʿ as-Sughdí at the head of 10,000 men to Ṭabaristán. When these reached Tammísha, Abu'l-Qásim Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlí an-Náṣir was at Sárí, with a thousand men. Entrenching himself there, he wrote to his father informing him of the Sámánid advance. Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad [b.] an-Náṣir went to Gílán and Daylamán, and spent much money in collecting an army, while the Ispahbad Shahriyár pitched his camp at Wínábád above Sárí, still retaining the black standard and draperies (of the ʿAbbásids), though he sent reinforcements to Sayyid Abu'l-Qásim. An undecided battle took place at Sárí between Sayyid Abu'l-Qásim and Ilyás b. Ilísaʿ, and the Sámánid troops at length retired, leaving Ṭabaristán to Sayyid Náṣir-i-Kabír. The Ispahbad Sharwín also made peace with him, whilst Hurmazd-Káma retired to Astarábád, and the Sayyid handed over most of the administration to his cousin Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Qásim, whom he set over his own sons, who were thereby filled with envy, as one of them, Sayyid Abu'l-

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Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. an-Náṣir, commonlyknown as *Ṣáḥibu'l-Jaysh* ("the Commander in Chief") says in a poem (f. 127*b*):

فَيَا عَجَبَا مِنْ قُرْبِ أَسْبَابِ مبعدى وَ كَثْرَةِ أَعْدَائِى وَ قِلَّةِ مُسْعِدِى
فيا دولة قامت علىّ بجورها و يا والدًا لم يرع لى طيب مولدى
هَلِ ٱلْعَدْلُ إِلَّا قِسْمَةٌ بِسَوِيَّةٍ وَ إِنْصَافُ مَظْلُومٍ و إِعْطَاءُ مُجْتَدِى
فَمَا بَالُ أَتْرَابِى رَفَعْتَ رُؤُسَهُمْ وَ طَأْطَأْتَ منّى جَاهِدًا لِتَبَعُّدِى
فَإِنْ رُزِقُوا مِنْكَ ٱلَّذِى قَدْ حُرِمْتُهُ فَمَا رُزِقُوا عِلْمِى وَ فَضْلِى وَ مَحْتِدِى
وَ إِنْ أَكَلَتْ دُنْيَاكَ دُونِى عِصَابَةٌ صَبَرْتُ لَهَا يَوْمِى وَ أَمْسِى إِلَى غَدِى
فَمَا ٱللَّهُ عَنْ ظُلْمِ ٱلْعِبَادِ بِغَافِلٍ وَ مَا أَنَا بِٱلْوَانِى وَ لَا بِٱلْمُبَلِّدِى
أَيَقْضِى قَرِيبُ ٱلرَّحْمِ مِنْ أَجْلِ رِحْمِهِ وَ يَدْنُو بِإِحْسَانٍ لآخِرَ مُبْعَدِى
فَأَبْقِ على الارحام خوف شماتة تحلّ بنا فى كلّ نادٍ و مشهدِى
أَتَرْضَى بِأَنْ أُرْضَى بِخُطَّةِ عَاجِزٍ إِذَا خَانَنِى سَيْفِى وَ شَلَّتْ بِهِ يَدِى

He also reproaches his father, who was of the Imámí sect, in these lines:

يَا أَيُّهَا ٱلزَّيْدِيَّةُ ٱلْمُهْمَلَهْ إِمَامُكُمْ ذَا آيَةٌ مُنْزَلَهْ
كَفٌّ لَهُ بِٱلأَخْذِ مَبْسُوطَةٌ وَ فِى ٱلْعَطَايَا جَعْدَةٌ مُقْفَلَهْ
أَشْلَى عَلَى ٱلأُمَّةِ أَوْلَادَهُ وَ أَظْهَرَ ٱلرِّشْوَةَ وَ ٱلْقَنْدَلَهْ
يَا رَحَمَاتِ ٱلْجَوِّ تَبًّا لَكُمْ غِضْتُمْ فَأَخْرَجْتُم لَنَا جَنْدَلَهْ
تُوبُوا إِلَى ٱلرَّحْمٰنِ وَ ٱسْتَغْفِرُوا مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ يَأْتِيَكُمْ زَلْزَلَهْ

Strife arises between -Ḥasan b. -Qásim and -Náṣir.

Náṣir-i-Kabír had sent -Ḥasan b. -Qásim to Gílán, bidding him bring the rulers of that province to Ámul to swear allegiance to him. He wrote to Náṣir that he had persuaded Harúsandán the son of Tídá, Khusraw Fírúz the son of

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Justán, and Laythám the son of Wardán, with all their tribesmen, to come in. But these bore Náṣir a grudge, because he had not performed all that he promised them, so they swore allegiance, not to him, but to -Ḥasan b. -Qásim (f. 128*a*). On reaching Ámul, -Ḥasan alighted at Muṣallá (the Oratory) and did not go before Náṣir, but came next day with his guards and retainers to ask for provisions for his army. Náṣir was frightened, and fled from his quarters on a mule towards Pá-yi-Dasht, but was pursued and captured by -Ḥasan, who brought him back to Ámul, and thence sent him to the castle of Láriján, while his allies looted the Palace. Thereafter arose a great strife between the partisans of Náṣir and of Ḥasan; and Laylá b. Nuᶜmán came from Sárí, and headed an attack on Ḥasan's palace. They reviled him, took from him his signet-ring, and brought him back to Ámul before Náṣir, of whom they asked pardon. When Ḥasan, deserted by his followers, was brought before Náṣir, the latter said without one reproach or bitter word, "I forgive thee," and bade him return to Gílán. But Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. an-Náṣir interceded for him, got him recalled, and gave him his daughter (who was afterwards the mother of Abu'l-Faḍl ad-Dáᶜí) in marriage; and he was given the government of Gurgán.

-Ḥasan b. -Qásim sets out for Gurgán. He is attacked by the Turks, and besieged in the Citadel.

After -Ḥasan b. -Qásim had set out for Gurgán, Sayyid Náṣir sent his son Abu'l-Qásim Jaᶜfar after him to support him (f. 128*b*). But the latter, having a grudge against him, purposely lagged behind, and kept writing to his father, saying, "This man cherishes enmity against thee." And when, on approaching Gurgán, the Turks came out to give battle to -Ḥasan, Abu'l-Qásim abandoned him to his fate;

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and Ḥasan, being unable to withstand them, fell back on Astarábád, and withdrew into the castle of Kajín, which had remained in good repair from the time of Shápúr Dhu'l-Aktáf [the Sásánian] until the time of Ardashír b. al-Ḥasan, who ordered it to be destroyed, lest it should fall into the hands of Tukush b. Il-Arslán. There Ḥasan remained all the winter, besieged by the Turks, while his men suffered much from the cold. At length, being in want of food, he made a sortie with a few of his followers, attacked the Turks and slew some of them, and made his way safely to Ámul, and thence to Gílán. Sayyid Náṣir now retired from public life and devoted himself to study and teaching, and the fame of his knowledge in Jurisprudence, Traditions, Philosophy, Poetry and Literature brought him many visitors from distant lands. He finally died on Sha'bán 5, A. H. 304 (January 31, A. D. 917), having sent his son Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad to Gílán and made his son-in-law -Ḥasan b. -Qásim his successor.

-Ḥasan b. -Qásim, called ad-Dá'í ila'l-Ḥaqq.

Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Qásim b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alí b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán ash-Shajarí b. al-Qásim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alí b. Abí Ṭálib now succeeded under the title of *ad-Dá'í* (f. 129*a*) *ila'l-Ḥaqq* ("The Summoner unto the Truth"), or, as he is called in the *Kitábu'l-Ansáb*, *ad-Dá'í aṣ-Ṣaghír* ("the Lesser Dá'í"). He reached Ámul on Ramaḍán 12, A. H. 304 (= March 9, A. D. 917), and Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. an-Náṣir surrendered the sovereignty to him. The brother of the latter, Abu'l-Qásim Ja'far b. an-Náṣir, sent to him, saying, "The kingdom is our father's; why then dost thou surrender it to him?" but he paid no heed, and an estrangement between the two brothers resulted. Ja'far went to Muḥammad b. Ṣa'lúk at Ray, and promised to adopt the black colour of the

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ᶜAbbásids, to coin money in the name of the (Sámánid) rulers of Khurásán, and to insert their names in the *khuṭba*, and help to recover Ṭabaristán for them.

Ḥasan governed justly and well, and made the people contented and happy. When Jaᶜfar came to Ámul, Ḥasan retired to Gílán in A. H. 306 (= A. D. 918—919), and Jaᶜfar remained there seven months, extorting exorbitant taxes from the people, till -Ḥasan returned in Jumádá II, A. H. 307 (November, A. D. 919), and again established justice, so that all men prayed for long continuance of his life. He had his palace at Muṣallá ("the Oratory") near Ámul, and built lofty dwellings for his officers round about him, so that they should not dwell in the city, or vex and molest the inhabitants. The Ispahbad Sharwín and Shahriyár the son of Wandá-ummíd agreed to pay him the tribute they had paid in the time of Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd, but -Ḥasan b. -Qásim, not deeming this enough, marched against them, defeated Shahriyár at Kawíj, and made peace with Sharwín.

At this time the Sámánids were vainly endeavouring to subdue Níshápúr, and Sayyid Ḥasan sent against it Laylá b. Nuᶜmán (f. 129*b*), who took it. Then he proceeded to Ṭús, where, being defeated by the Sámánid army, he fled to Gurgán. There a number of the Daylamite chiefs gave him their allegiance, and conspired with him to kill Sayyid Ḥasan by treachery, but, the plot being made known to the Sayyid, he, without saying a word to any one, marched to Gurgán, seized the conspirators, and beheaded them. Amongst them was Harúsandán, the father of Siyáh Gíl, chief of Gílán. So men's hearts were filled with fear of Sayyid Ḥasan, and thenceforth no one dared to plot against him. Leaving Abu'l-Ḥusayn [b.] Náṣir at Gurgán, he then returned to Ámul. Shortly after this Abu'l-Qásim b. an-Náṣir collected a number of followers in Gílán, while Sayyid Abu-'l-Ḥusayn [b.] Náṣir also turned against Sayyid Ḥasan, and

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sent his general Abú Músá Hárún Isfáh-dúst to Ámul, where, however, he was defeated and slain. On this event ʿAbdu'lláh b. Muḥammad al-Kátib has the following verse:

كَمْ لُهَامٍ بِكُلِّ نَجْدٍ كَمِيٍّ وَ هُمَامٍ بِكُلِّ أَمْرٍ مُجَابِ

Sayyid Ḥasan, having concluded peace with Abu'l-Ḥusayn for a payment of 10,000 dirhams, sent ʿAlí b. Jaʿfar ar-Rází against the Ispahbad Shahriyár, and Ḥusayn b. Dínár against the Ispahbad Sharwín. Both submitted and came in (f. 130*a*), but fled on being informed that Sayyid Ḥasan thought to put an end to the trouble they were continually causing by casting both of them into prison. Sayyid Ḥasan was therefore compelled to pursue them, and finally had to be content with taking their sons as hostages for their good behaviour.

Sayyid Ḥasan next ordered Ilyás b. Ilísaʿ to evacuate Gurgán, but, as he paid no heed, he was attacked, his army routed, and himself killed. When this news reached Bukhárá, the Sámánids sent Qará-takín the Turk with 30,000 horsemen to Gurgán. Sayyid Ḥasan and Abu'l-Ḥusayn retired into Tammísha, knowing that they could not withstand so large a host, and Abu'l-Ḥusayn presently deserted Sayyid Ḥasan, went to Gílán, and joined Abu'l-Qásim Jaʿfar, while Sayyid Ḥasan took refuge with the Ispahbad Muḥammad b. Shahriyár, who, however, put him in fetters and sent him to ʿAlí b. Wah-súdán, governor for the Caliph al-Muqtadir at Ray. Ṭáhir b. Muḥammad the scribe was sent to ʿAlí b. Wehsúdán bidding him not to forward his prisoner to Baghdad, but to imprison him in his fathers' castle at (f. 130*b*) Alamút, where he remained a prisoner until Muḥammad b. Musáfir defeated ʿAlí b. Wehsúdán at Qazwín, when Khusraw Fírúz released him and sent him to Gílán.

Meanwhile Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan and his brother Abu'l-Qásim Jaʿfar succeeded conjointly in expelling Qará-takín

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from Ṭabaristán, which was rendered the easier by troubles in Khurásán which required his presence. The brothers then remained in Gurgán until Aḥmad Ṭawíl was sent against them from Bukhárá, but him also they defeated, and he fled alone to Bisṭám, while most of his army dispersed to Jájarm and Isfará'in.

Sayyid Ḥasan, on his release, came to Gílán, sent to Ṭabaristán for his hidden treasures and moneys, and therewith collected an army, with which he invaded Ṭabaristán, and advanced to Ámul and Sárí. Abu'l-Ḥusayn and Abu'l-Qásim sent Abú Bakr az-Zifrí to Ámul to obtain news, but at Astarábád he heard that Sayyid Ḥasan had already reached Lamrásk, whereupon he at once returned to make his report. Ábu'l-Ḥusayn, Abu'l-Qásim and [the son of] Harúsandán [1] held a council of war (f. 131*a*), and it was agreed that the first should march on Astarábád and give battle to Sayyid Ḥasan, while the two others remained in Gurgán. Next morning these last went out from the city to the Dá'í's Tomb to await news from Astarábád. A *ghulám* of ʿAlí Qumí Darzí came out from Gurgán, however, with the news that Laylá's men were plundering their houses and stealing their treasures. Thereupon they went back to the city, and Abu'l-Qásim found the very mats stripped from his house, and learned that there were only ten of his followers left in it, whereupon he cast himself on the ground and burst into tears. Laylá denied any complicity in this robbery, but told Abu'l-Qásim that he could not remain in Gurgán; and as he feared to go alone, he gave him an escort of 30 men under Lashkar-sitán. The Daylamites had shut the gates, but he got out by the new

[1] [Harúsandán has already been beheaded; see p. 205 *supra*. Should we not perhaps read "the son of Harúsandán (پسر having dropped out in the MSS.) i. e. Siyáh Gíl (cf. p. 205)? A little lower down this same person appears to be designated علی قمی درزی and درزی قمی. A. G. E.]

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road of Kaláta, having only three *dínárs* in his possession with which to buy bread (f. 131*b*). On advancing a little further he met three men, who informed him that Sayyid Ḥasan had defeated his confederate Abu'l-Ḥusayn. Abu'l-Qásim and Darzí Qumí were now left alone in despair and bewilderment. The former bought an ass in a neighbouring village, and went by Bisṭám to Dámghán, and thence to Ray and Gílán.

Sayyid Ḥasan, having defeated Abu'l-Ḥusayn, sent him a kindly message, saying, "I am thy servant, and the kingdom is thine, having been thy father's before." So these two were reconciled.

When the House of Símjúr began to cause trouble in Khurásán, [Abú] ʿAlí b. Símjúr came to Gurgán, and invited the Sayyids, as men of peace and religion, to abandon the country quietly to him. They refused, and fought a battle with him at the village of Jaláyin. Surkháb the son of Weh-súdán attacked and routed him, while Abu'l-Ḥusayn scattered his right wing. His men fled into the plain, but when they had gone some distance, the Turks turned at bay, alighted from (f. 132*a*) their horses, and fired a volley of arrows, completely routing their assaillants, so that the Sayyids Ḥasan and Abu'l-Ḥusayn fled, accompanied only by one *ghulám*, and by ʿAlí b. Buwayh [i. e. ʿImádu'd-Dawla], Mákán b. Kákí, and Jakáw the *sipahsálár*, while the Turks pursued them to Ámasgún. In Tammísha they halted and began to fortify themselves, while Sayyid Ḥasan, leaving Mákán there, went on to Ámul to gather fresh troops. Abu'l-Ḥusayn then again attacked the Turks, repulsed them, and re-occupied Gurgán. This victory was at the end of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 310 (= April 20, A. D. 923). For some time after this Sayyid Ḥasan and Abu'l-Ḥusayn held Ṭabaristán thus, the former residing at Ámul, the latter at Gurgán. Sayyid Ḥasan built mosques and colleges, encouraged and patronized

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men of learning and poets, and governed the people wisely and beneficently. After a while Abu'l-Ḥusayn again quarrelled with and attacked him, but was defeated, and fled to join his brother Abu'l-Qásim.

These two then allied themselves with Mákán b. Kákí, ʿAlí b. Khurshíd, Asfár b. Shírúya and Rashámúj, and determined to seize Sayyid Ḥasan, who, being informed of their designs, marched from Ámul to Sárí with Rustam b. Sharwín. The brothers Abu'l-Ḥusayn and Abu'l-Qásim marched along the coast to Mishkawá, meaning to fight him next day at Sárí, but Sayyid Ḥasan fled that night, none knew whither. Abu'l-Ḥusayn nominated his own governors and lieutenants, and on Thursday (f. 132*b*), the 8th of Jumáda I (A. H. 311 = Aug. 24, A. D. 923), came to Ámul, but behaved so exorbitantly and tyrannically towards the people that they longed with all their souls for the former government. And on Tuesday, Rajab 29, A. H. 311 (= Nov. 13, A. D. 923) Abu'l-Ḥusayn died.

On his death, Abu'l-Qásim, his brother, was left in undisputed possession of Ṭabaristán, for Sayyid Ḥasan had fled to the mountains, where many of those who loved his rule joined him. On hearing of Abu'l-Ḥusayn's death, he approached Ámul, halting at a place known as *Gázar-gáh* (the Washing-place) to fight Abu'l-Qásim; but in Ramaḍán, A. H. 311 (= Dec. A. D. 923—Jan., A. D. 924), most of his men having deserted to the enemy, he again fled to the mountains. About the same date Sayyid Abu'l-Qásim ordered Khalíl b. Kájí to kill ʿAbdu'lláh [b.] Mubárak the scribe, stick his head on a pole, and parade it, with an ink-stand set before it in mockery, through the bázárs. But Abu'l-Qásim himself died soon afterwards on Tuesday, Dhu'l-Qaʿda 10, A. H. 312 (= Febr. 7, A. D. 925).

All Gíl and Daylam now swore allegiance to Abu'l-Qásim's nephew [Abú ʿAlí] Muḥammad b. Aḥmad [b.] al-Ḥasan, who

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was beloved for his justice and beneficence as much as he was feared for his courage.

Abu'l-Qásim had made Mákán b. Kákí governor of Gurgán (f. 133*a*), and he, with Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán and Abú ʿAlí b. Iṣfahán, agreed to swear allegiance to Abu'l-Qásim's little son (by Díkú, daughter of Iṣfahán) Ismáʿíl and make him king; which design, however, they kept secret, until Sayyid Abú ʿAlí summoned them to his presence, when they marched from Gurgán to Sárí, Abú ʿAlí having gone with only a few retainers to Mámṭír. Mákán then sent his army to seize him, bidding them drag him from his horse, and snatch off his *kuláh*, which was done. Then Mákán sent him to Gurgán to the Amír Ká, son of Wardásf, who came to Ámul and crowned Ismaʿíl. Mákán wrote news of this to Sayyid Ḥasan, and sent his brother Abu'l-Ḥusayn b. Kákí with the insignia of royalty to Jájarm and Khurásán, whither also he despatched an army. ʿAlí b. Buwayh, the paternal uncle of Aḍudu'd-Dawla Fanákhusraw, was the Sayyids' governor of that place, and he, with his 400 men, was defeated and captured by Abu-'l-Ḥusayn b. Káki, who slew all the Khurásání soldiers who fell into his hands. Soon afterwards Mákán wrote to his brother to return to Gurgán and take over the government of it from the Amír Ká; and he sent a confidential message to his brother bidding him kill Sayyid Abú ʿAlí, who was lodging in the house of Raḍí, and send him his head. As the two sat drinking together, Abu'l-Ḥusayn b. Kákí began to quarrel with the Sayyid, who, divining his object, made some pretext for leaving the room, and borrowed from one of his servants a small knife (f. 133*b*) which he concealed in his dress. Then he returned, and when Abu'l-Ḥusayn b. Kákí, waxing more quarrelsome, seized him by the throat, he threw him down and ripped up his belly. To escape, the Sayyid was obliged to leap from the roof thirty yards down into the moat. He then sent his ring to

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ʿAlí b. Khurshíd and Asfár b. Shírúya, who were in revolt against Mákán and were plundering on the high roads of Gurgán, and they at once joined him and swore allegiance to him. Soon he had an army round him, and was in possession of Gurgán.

As soon as Mákán heard of his brother's death, he collected an army and marched on Gurgán, but the Sayyid, by bribing Rashámúj the son of Shír-Mardán to desert to his side was able to discomfit and rout him. Mákán fled to Lamrásk (f. 134*a*) without halting, left the Amír Ká, son of Wardásf, there with a regiment, and continued his flight to Sárí. Sayyid Abú ʿAlí, having left ʿAlí b. Khurshíd in charge of Gurgán, pushed on to Lamrásk, where the vanguard of his army had already defeated Amír Ká. Without halting he marched on to Sárí and defeated Mákán, who fled into the city, after slaying Abú Jaʿfar Kúrankíj, who tried to seize him. He was pursued by the soldiers from quarter to quarter and repeatedly wounded, but struck down a soldier who tried to arrest him and escaped. In trying to cross the river he was thrown from his horse, which he then abandoned, together with his coat of mail, and fled through a garden to a house belonging to a poor man, whose help he implored, and who hid him in the branches of a mulberry-tree. The soldiers arrived there and threatened the poor man, who, however, would not betray Mákán's hiding-place. When they had gone, he brought Mákán out, bound up his wounds, and, when he was strong enough, set him on his way, so that he escaped to the highlands of Sárí. When afterwards Mákán became powerful and prosperous, he richly rewarded his deliverer, whose name was Kayán Búj, raised him to a high position and conferred honour on his family. Sayyid Abu ʿAlí came to Ámul and took possession of Ṭabaristán. He ruled firmly and wisely, but ere long was killed by a fall from his horse whilst playing polo.

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When the mourning for his death was concluded, the people (f. 134*b*) swore allegiance to his brother Abú Jaʿfar. His accession was soon followed by a serious riot, caused by the injustice of his minister Abuʾl-Ḥasan [b.] Abí Yúsuf, in which disturbance many persons were killed, even in the chief Mosque, where the soldiers massacred numbers of the congregation as they came from public prayer on Friday, till at length the people rose and expelled the troops from the city.

Mákán b. Kákí kept writing from his highland retreat to the Dáʿí urging him to revolt and promising him his support, but he would not stir until Mákán had collected 500 men at a place above Nátil still known as "Mákán's camp". When Sayyid Abú Jaʿfar learned this, he marched from Ámul to Nátil, and encamped opposite Mákán. Many of the notables of Ámul, such as Sayyid Abú Jaʿfar *Mánk-dím*, Abu ʿAbdiʾlláh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, Abú Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlí, the head-man of Ámul and nephew of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlí Faqíh, and ʿAbbás b. Qábúsán, wrote letters to Mákán promising to help him. He bade them remain quietly in the city, but they disobeyed him, and, gathering a great rabble of the townsfolk, made manifest their intentions (f. 135*a*). Sayyid Abú Jaʿfar, learning this, sent against them 1200 picked soldiers, who utterly routed these undisciplined levies, killing many of them. Next day Sayyid Abú Jaʿfar Náṣir entered Ámul, where Abuʾl-Ḥasan the minister had exacted large sums of money from the people.

Mákán again urged the Dáʿí to revolt, but he still refused, until Asfár the son of Shírúya and Muṭrif, his minister, having exacted vast sums of money from the people, retired to Gurgán and openly cast off their allegiance to Abú Jaʿfar, who sent ʿAlí b. Khurshíd to Sárí as governor. After a month or so, Asfár came from Gurgán and attacked him, defeated him, imprisoned him in the caravanseray of Ḥasan b. Bahrám, seized the city, and proclaimed himself king.

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Meanwhile Mákán's strength continued to increase, and he determined to attack Sayyid Abú Jaʿfar, who, on his approach, fled from Ámul to Wandád-Hurmazd Kúh. Mákán occupied the city, and at once sent messengers to the Dáʿí to bring him from Gílán. When he arrived, amidst the rejoicings of the people, he advanced with Mákán from Ámul to Sárí. Asfár fled at their approach (f. 135*b*), while the Ispahbad Sharwín retired into his highlands. At this juncture Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Sámánid marched from Bukhárá with an army of 30,000 men to subdue Ṭabaristán and ʿIráq, and entered the highlands of Ṭabaristán. Abú Naṣr was Sayyid Ḥasan's governor in Shahriyár-kúh, and he blocked the roads, broke down the bridges, and so entangled Naṣr b. Aḥmad in the highlands that he was unable to get out, and was reduced to great straits for food and fodder, so that finally he sent an ambassador to Sayyid Ḥasan asking him on what terms he would let him depart. The Sayyid sent ʿAbdu'lláh b. Salám and Abu'l-ʿAbbás [b.] Dhu 'r-Riyásatayn to him, and concluded peace, on the understanding that he should pay an idemnity of 20,000 *dínárs* and depart to Khurásán.

When the Sámánid had departed, Mákán began to behave arrogantly towards the Sayyid, who left him, and went to Gílán with the Ispahbad Sharwín b. Rustam. Mákán sent messengers to make apologies, but the Sayyid would not listen to them. Then Asfár collected an army of 7000 Turks, Gílís, and Daylamites and came to Ámul, where he fought with Mákán for three days and nights at the gate known as *Dar-i-Ǧúr*. Rashámúj had promised to help Mákán, and actually joined him on the fourth day. All the people were watching the fray from the roofs of the various buildings. Mákán looked back, saw them, and said, "Why do ye not take down these dogs?" Then Mákán's troops dashed at Asfár's and routed them, and

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pursued them to Sárí. Asfár came to Gurgán, releasing ʿAlí b. Khurshíd, whom he had kept in bonds (f. 136*a*), and who was brought to Mákán, and by him restored to liberty. Mákán then marched on to Astarábád, while Asfár went to Abú Bakr b. Ilísaʿ, Naṣr b. Aḥmad's commander-in-chief, who turned back to Sárí, and in A. H. 315 (A. D. 927—8) despatched Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán to the highlands to seek out Sayyid Abú Jaʿfar, whom he brought in to Sárí, bare-headed and bare-footed, and imprisoned in the Palace of Abuʾl-ʿAbbás [b.] Dhuʾr-Riyásatayn. Then the Dáʿí wrote to Mákán, reproaching him bitterly for what he had done to Sayyid Abú Jaʿfar, notwithstanding all his protestations of friendship and promises of support to himself; and thereupon Mákán released Abu Jaʿfar and sent him to the Dáʿí. Then the latter, supported by Gíl and Daylam, and accompanied by the Ispahbad Sharwín, came to Ámul, where Mákán came out to meet him. Soon after this Mákán slew Abú Naṣr, who had come to Sárí, with a blow from his mace, while he was riding with him, and restored the government of Shahriyár-kúh to the Ispahbad Sharwín, whom he dismissed with presents and robes of honour. Asfár joined Abú Bakr [b.] Ilísaʿ and on his death, which occurred shortly afterwards, the army swore allegiance to him. Abú Bakr had a *ghulám* named Il-Tughdí, who, fearing Naṣr b. Aḥmad, joined Asfár, and secured for him the kingdom of Khurásán. Naṣr b. Aḥmad, hearing this, sent Ṣáliḥ b. Sayyár (f. 136*b*), with the insignia of royalty, to conciliate him, and Asfár waxed bold and tyrannical, so that the people of Khurásán conceived a great hatred for him.

Mákán and the Dáʿí being now reconciled, a great army gathered round them, and they marched on Ray, expelled its governor, Muḥammad b. Ṣaʿlúk, and annexed it. Asfár, hearing of their absence, marched on Ṭabaristán with the army of Khurásán, and Abuʾl-Ḥajjáj Mardáwíj b. Ziyár, the

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elder brother of Washmgír, who was with Qará-takín the Sámánid, asked permission to join this expedition.

News of this invasion reached the Dáʿí and Mákán at Ray, and the latter begged the former to remain there while he marched back to fight the invaders. But the Dáʿí would not listen, and, with 500 men, marched to Ámul. The people of Ámul, on account of Abu'l-ʿAbbás al-Faqíh al-ʿAlaqí, refrained from helping the Dáʿí; and Asfár, who was at Sári, hearing of his weakness at Ámul, and of Mákán's absence at Ray, marched to Ámul and attacked the Dáʿi, who came out to meet him in battle, but was slain by Mardáwíj with a blow of his mace at ʿAlí-ábád as he was endeavouring to recross the river and regain the city. On the same day Abú Jaʿfar Mánk-dím and another, a descendant of ʿAqíl b. Abí Ṭálib, were slain, and Ṭabaristán passed into the possession of Asfár, who appointed his own governors, and, being reinforced by a Turk named Agúshí and his tribe, marched on Ray and defeated Mákán, who fled to Ṭabaristán, while Asfár remained at Ray to enrich himself and his army (f. 137*a*). Then, leaving Agúshí at Ray, Asfár returned to Ṭabaristán. Mákán thereupon fled to Daylamán. Asfár swore allegiance to Abú Jafʿar, who, however, he shortly afterwards seized, together with Abu'l-Ḥusayn Shajarí and Zayd b. Ṣáliḥ, and sent them in chains to Bukhárá, while Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn fled. These three remained in captivity at Bukhárá till the death of Abú Bakr Zakariyyá, when they were released, and returned to Ṭabaristán. Ámul was ceded to Mákán on condition that he should not interfere with the rest of Ṭabaristán. Agúshí the Turk behaved so tyrannically at Ray that Asfár resolved to kill him, but he fled to Qum, pursued by Mardáwíj, whom Asfár sent after him, but without success.

At this juncture the Caliph al-Muqtadir sent his cousin Hárún b. al-Gharíb against Ray, but he was defeated by

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Asfár. Mákán, not regarding his treaty, strove to bring all Ṭabaristán under his control, made Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán his deputy at Ámul, and himself marched to Gurgán and thence to Níshápúr, accompanied by the Ispahbad Sharwín and Shahriyár of Wandád-Hurmazd-Kúh. There he fought many battles and gained many victories, but a report arose in Ṭabaristán that he was dead, and Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán assumed the control of affairs and placed the crown on the head of Ismaʿíl the ʿAlawí, who was his half-brother, giving him Fáṭima, the daughter of Aḥmad, who had been the wife of the Dáʿí, as his wife. But Khadíja, the mother of Abú Jaʿfar, bribed two of Díkú's handmaidens with 400 *dínárs* to poison Ismaʿíl with a poisoned lancet while he was being bled. Later, when these handmaidens quarrelled and divulged the secret, both were hanged at Shálús by Díkú. Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán came to Ámul, but was expelled by Abú ʿAlí of Isfahán and Abú Músá, two of Mákán's officers, and retreated to Daylamán. Asfár went from Ray to Qazwín, and slew many of its inhabitants, because they had, in a riot, slain his lieutenant, and burned the *bázárs*, and many of the people fled into exile. Mardáwíj b. Ziyár quarrelled with him, gathered a number of followers, and retired to Zangán, whence he made an attack on Qazwín, and drove Asfár to Ray, and thence to Qúmish, where he was joined by Abu'l-ʿAbbás b. Kálanjár. With him Asfár fell back by way of Quhistán on Ṭabas, whither he was pursued by Mákán. Thence he endeavoured to reach the castle of Alamút, but Mardáwíj stopped the way (f. 138), and finally captured him in Tálaqán and beheaded him. All this happened in A. H. 319 (A. D. 931). Mardáwíj, being now quit of Asfár, slew many of the rabble who had supported him, including Aḥmad b. Rasúl and Abu'l-ʿAbbás ʿAṣṣárí, and established himself at Ray. Mákán advanced from Khurásán to Ṭabaristán and made peace with Mardáwíj, who sent messengers

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to Gílán by way of Qazwín and brought Náṣir to Ray. Mákán had tortured Abu'l-Faḍl Shágird, a relative of Muṭrif, to make him disgorge money; and Muṭrif induced Mardáwíj to march on Ṭabaristán. Mákán, learning this, came to Ámul. Mardáwíj sent Náṣir by way of Láriján and Damáwand, but Mákán met him near Wálá-rúd and slew him and many of his followers. Mardáwíj retreated by way of Damáwand to Ray. At this period the sons of Buwayh had seized the provinces of Fárs and Kirmán, and Mardáwíj went to Isfahán to arrange his plans, but while there he was assassinated in the bath. [1]

On the death of Mardáwíj, the army of Ray swore allegiance to his brother Washmgír b. Ziyár, who, having set in order the affairs of ʿIráq, sent Shíraj b. Laylá, Lashkarí and Abu'l-Qásim to expel Mákán from Ṭabaristán. Mákán fled thence to Gurgán, on a Tuesday in Ramaḍán, A. H. 323 (= August, A. D. 935). Abú Bakr and Abu'l-Mudhaffar, who were both there, allied themselves with Abu'l-Qásim, and left him in possession of Gurgán when they had expelled Mákán (f. 138*b*). But in Ramaḍán, A. H. 324 (= July—August, A. D. 936) Abu'l-Qásim was killed by a fall from his horse whilst playing polo, and buried at Sárí. His army swore allegiance to Ibráhím b. Gúshyár. The Amír Abú Ṭálib Washmgír came from Ray to Ámul and thence to Sárí, and Ibráhím b. Gúshyár came from Gurgán to meet him, but was dismissed from his command and degraded to his former rank. Washmgír then remained for some while at Sári, until Abú ʿAlí Khalífa and Langarcha Pír were murdered at Ámul. In Muḥarram, A. H. 325 (= Nov.—Dec., A. D. 936) he sent to Níshápúr and brought back Mákán, to whom he gave Gurgán. The command of the army of Ṭabaristán he conferred on Abú Dá'úd and Isfáhí b. Urmazdyár, bidding them make war on Abú Músá b. Bahrám,

[1] See *J. R. A. S.* for 1901, pp. 687—8.

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who had rebelled in Daylamán. Abú Jaʿfar Muḥammad, who was at Ámul, was joined by Abú Dáʾúd, and these, accompanied by Abú Jaʿfar Náṣir, went to attack Abú Músá, whom they defeated and expelled from that country. Daylamán, Jálús and the regions on that side of Ámul were conferred by Abú Ṭáhir Washmgír on Aḥmad b. Sálár, while Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Náṣir ruled at Ámul, giving audience every Monday and Thursday, and holding religious discussions with the doctors of Islám every Wednesday. Abú Dáʾúd was at Sárí, which suffered greatly this year from floods, so that the people fled into the highlands. Abú Dáʾúd summoned all the ministers and officials, and warned them that any exaction of which they might be guilty would be severely punished (f. 139*a*).

In Muḥarram, A. H. 328 (= Oct.—Nov., A. D. 939) Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Sámánid sent Abú ʿAlí b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mudhaffarí to Gurgán. Mákán appealed for help to Washmgír, who sent Isfáhí, with numerous levies from Gíl and Daylam. For seven months there was war in Gurgán, and at length Mákán and his allies were defeated, though reinforced by Shíraj b. Laylá. Finally, driven out of Gurgán by the army of Khurásán, Mákán fell back on Ṭabaristán and halted at Ámul. At this juncture news arrived that Ḥasan the Buwayhid had come from Kirmán to Ray, seeking to conquer ʿIráq. Washmgír marched at the head of an army to a place two stages distance from Ray called Mushkú, where a battle was fought, and the army of Ḥasan the Buwayhid was defeated, and fell back on Iṣfahán. In this battle the chamberlain Ibn Sháʾúshtí was slain, and Ḥasan the Buwayhid captured the Gílá-gúr, but Washmgír's men recovered him and brought him in his bonds to Washmgír, who set him free. Some days later, Washmgír came from Ray to Damáwand and summoned Mákán b. Kákí before him. He arrived on the ʿÁshúrá

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(Muḥarram 10) A. H. 329 (= October 15, A. D. 940), and was received with the utmost honour and sent to Sárí. As he was returning thither from Damáwand, the commander-in-chief Abu ʿAlí came to Dámghán, marching on ʿIráq. Washmgír turned back from Ray to Wíma near Damáwand, and sent to Mákán to join him. Mákán, leaving his cousin Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán at Sárí, went to Washmgír, and they met at Isḥáq-ábád. On Saturday, the 21st of Rabíʿ I, A. H. 329 (= December 24, A. D. 940) they drew up in battle-array against the commander-in-chief [of the Sámánids]. At the first attack of the Khurásánís (f. 139*b*) Washmgír fled; but Mákán stood firm, till, 1400 of his Gílí and Daylamite guards having been slain, twenty Turkish champions hurled themselves upon him, dragged him from his horse, and slew him. His head, with a number of notable Daylamites who had been taken prisoners, was sent to Bukhárá [1]. His *wazír*, the father of Ustád Ibnu'l-ʿAmíd Muḥammad Qumí, al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, known as *kala*, one of the finest scholars of the age, was also slain, and his head sent to Bukhárá. Thither also was sent his secretary, who, because of his accomplishments, was received with honour at the Sámánid court, where he remained for the rest of his days.

Washmgír, meanwhile, fled to Láriján, whence, ten days later, he came to Muṣallá of Ámul. There, on Wednesday, the 28th of Rabíʿ II, A. H. 329 (= December 31, A. D. 940) he received the news of Mákán's death. Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, Mákán's cousin, and his clansmen agreed that Washmgír had purposely deserted their kinsman, and so rebelled against the latter, who sent Shíraj b. Laylá to fight them. He drove them out of Sárí, and they fell back on Astarábád. Shíraj came to Ámul, and advanced on Astarábád,

[1] For the celebrated despatch written on this occasion by Iskáfí, see Anecdote III of the *Chahár Maqála*, pp. 28—30 of my translation.

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while Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán fled to ʿIráq and joined the Sámánid commander-in-chief, whom he induced to invade Ṭabaristán. Washmgír then retired from Gurgán to Sárí, where, at a place called Walajúy, a battle took place, wherein Washmgír stood firm; and even in the midst of it (f. 150*a*) news arrived of the death of Naṣr b. Aḥmad and the succession of his son Núḥ. Thereupon the Sámánid general made peace with Washmgír, and set out for Bukhárá, accompanied by Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, who, on the way thither, treacherously slew his chamberlain Mushawwiq, and, with the plunder which he had seized, returned to Gurgán, while the Sámánid general proceded on his way to join Núḥ b. Naṣr the new sovereign. All this happened in the year A. H. 331 (= A. D. 942—943). Washmgír made Isfáhí governor of Ṭabaristán and himself went to Ray.

At the end of Ramaḍán, A. H. 331 (beginning of June, A. D. 943) Ḥasan the Buwayhiḍ advanced from Isfahán by way of Qazwín, and Washmgír came forth from Ray to give him battle. Shír Mardí and Gúrígír deserted him and went over to his enemy, and Washmgír, filled with apprehension, was defeated, and fled to Muṣallá near Ámul. Ḥasan the Buwayhid seized Abú ʿAlí the scribe, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿUmarí and Abú ʿUmar the *wazír*, and bade them disclose Washmgír's treasures. They indicated to him as the treasurer Abu'l-Ḥasan Mámṭírí, who, under torture, gave up all his own wealth, but not a grain of his master's. On reaching Ámul, Washmgír sent Bínán b. al-Ḥasan as an ambassador to Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, who, however, imprisoned him in the castle of Jahína, and again came to Sárí, where Washmgír then was. A battle ensued, and Muḥammad b. Dabírí and Ismaʿíl b. Mardúchín deserted to Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán's side. Thereupon Washmgír again fled to the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Sharwín in the highlands, and, taking all his kinsmen and women-folk with him (f. 140*b*), made his way

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to Bukhárá, where Núḥ b. Naṣr the Sámánid came out to meet him and received him with honour. Washmgír's lieutenant Isfáhí came to Ámul, whence, learning that Washmgír had fled, he moved to the castle of Kuhrúd. A riot ensued in Ámul, wherein many officers and myrmidons of the government were slain, and Jaʿfar b. Alanbán was hanged, and the people of Qum who were there were maltreated, till Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán came to Ámul and encamped at Shaʿbú-Dasht, whence he went to Láriján and captured the castle and slew Isfáhí b. Akharyár, and seized all his property, and sent the spoils to his own castle in Daylamán.

Then Núḥ b. Naṣr the Sámánid sent Qarátakín at the head of 30,000 horsemen with Washmgír to Ṭabaristán. When he reached Gurgán, Ḥasan b. Fírúzán pretended that he was going to attack him, but suddenly slipped past him from Astarábád to Ámul, destroying the roads and bridges, by way of Mámṭír and Tarícha. He was pursued by Washmgír to Sárí, whence, by way of Ámul, he made good his escape to Daylamán. Washmgír advanced to Jálús, and Qarátakín demanded money of him, so that he was obliged to turn back to Ámul and give him a share of his possessions, besides presenting all the men of learning and position to him in the mosque, in order that they also might he laid under contribution. Meanwhile Ḥasan b. Fírúzán remained in his castle وباسب چین دارانجن کرد, and encamped his men at a place called Dúládár. Washmgír marched thither, while Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán encamped on the sea-shore beyond Darband. Washmgír put his horse into the sea and attacked them, and captured Abu'l-Qásim b. al-Ḥasan ash-Shaʿrání, whom he at once beheaded. Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán then took refuge with Mázyár b. Justán, while Washmgír came to Ámul and there abode. [Ḥasan] b. Fírúzán then retired to Rúyán and took refuge with the Ustundár. Washmgír, learning this, suddenly attacked (f. 141*a*) them and dispersed their troops.

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Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán next fled to Láriján, whence, by way of Damáwand, he went to Astarábád and took up his abode in the castle of Kachín. Washmgír came from Ámul to Gurgán, but no sooner had he arrived there than Ḥasan the Buwayhid came from Ray by Ámul to Astarábád, where he was joined by Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán. They then proceeded to Gurgán and fought and defeated Washmgír, who retired to Níshápúr. The Ispabhad Shahriyár came to Ḥasan the Buwayhid, who was now in possession of Ṭabaristán, where he left ʿAlí b. Níkáma, and himself returned to ʿIráq and settled at Ray. The Ustundár brought forth Abu'l-Faḍl ath-Thá'ir al-ʿAlawí (the grand-nephew of an-Náṣir al-Kabír) and established him at Jálús. The people collected round him. Ḥasan the Buwayhid, on hearing this, sent an army under Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, known as Ibnu'l-ʿAmíd, to Ámul to help ʿAlí b. Níkama, but Abu'l-Faḍl ath-Thá'ir deserted the Buwayhid force at Tamanjádiya, and came to Ámul, where he established himself in the Sayyid's palace, while the Ustundár took up his abode at Kharmazar above Ámul. After some time, these two quarrelled, and ath-Thá'ir al-ʿAlawí went to Gílán. Ḥasan the Buwayhid gave an army to Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, and sent him to Ṭabaristán. At this juncture Ḥasan the Buwayhid's mother died at Ray, and was buried with great pomp at Jálús near Ámul, and all Ṭabaristán passed under the sway of Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, who discovered Abú Jaʿfar the brother of Mákán at Sárí. Washmgír sent to Núḥ the Sámánid to ask his help, and received in response to his appeal several thousand troops, with whom he suddenly attacked Gurgán, and surprised and defeated Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, whose army joined Washmgír (f. 141*b*), while their late captain fled by night to the castle of Kachín. Washmgír then obtained control of the country.

At this date the Buwayhids had over-run the two ʿIráqs,

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al-Ḥijáz and Syria, as is fully set forth by Abú Isḥaq Ibráhím b. Hilál aṣ-Ṣábí in his *Kitábu'l-Táji fí áthári 'd-Dawlati 'd-Daylamiyya*, and had made Baghdad their capital. Ḥasan the Buwayhid, the father of ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla Fanákhusraw, made his brother Muʿizzu'd-Dawla governor of Ray, while he himself held sway over ʿIráq. As soon as he heard of the return of Washmgír, he set out with a large army of Persians and Arabs to attack Ṭabaristán. Washmgír fled to Daylamán, but its people refused to shelter him for fear of the Buwayhids. Rukn'd-Dawla Ḥasan the Buwayhid advanced as far as Jálús, and Washmgír took refuge with Abu 'l-Faḍl ath-Thá'ir, but for whose protection the Daylamites would have surrendered Washmgír to his foes. Ruknu 'd-Dawla the Buwayhid retired to Ámul and remained there a month, till news of the death of his brother ʿAlí reached him, whereupon he left Ṭabaristán and returned to ʿIráq. Thereupon Washmgír and ath-Thá'ir al-ʿAlawí, accompanied by a host of Gílís and Daylamís, came to Ámul and appointed their own governors. Leaving the Sayyid at Ámul, Washmgír himself marched to Gurgán. Shíraj b. Laylá, Wardánsháh and Abu'l-Ḥasan the brother of Náṣir conspired together and slew the chief supporters of ath-Thá'ir, while Muḥammad b. Wahrí, one of his chief intimates, joined them, so that the Sayyid was left alone, and fled by night to Daylamán, while the conspirators plundered and looted Ámul (f. 142*a*).

When Ruknu'd-Dawla had concluded the mourning for his brother, he collected a large army, marched on Gurgán, attacked Washmgír, and drove him by way of Nasá and Báward to Merv, which was then governed for Núḥ the Sámánid by Manṣúr Qarátakín. Níshápúr had been seized by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'r-Razzáq, who had revolted against Núḥ. Washmgír and Qarátakín made a combined attack on him, and he, unable to withstand them, retired

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to Gurgán, where he joined Ruknu'd-Dawla's governor, Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán. In Shawwál, A. H. 337 (= April, A. D. 949) Qarátakín and Washmgír entered Gurgán, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'r-Razzáq fled to Ray and took refuge with Ruknu'd-Dawla. Qarátakín returned to Níshápúr and there died. Amír Núḥ thereupon appointed Abú ʿAlí Muslim commander in chief in Khurásán, and sent him against Ruknu'd-Dawla. He reached Ray in A. H. 342 (= A. D. 353—4), besieged Ruknu'd-Dawla in the citadel, and finally made peace with him on the condition that he should pay to the Court of Bukhárá a yearly tribute of 200,000 *dínárs*. Thereupon Abú ʿAlí Muslim retired, to the great vexation of Washmgír, who wrote to the Amír Núḥ saying that, if he had pressed his advantage, he might have taken Ruknu'd-Dawla captive. Amír Núḥ, incensed at this, dismissed Abú ʿAlí Muslim from his office of commander in chief, and gave it to Abú Saʿíd Bakr b. Malik. Abú ʿAlí Muslim, being informed of his dismissal, revolted against Amír Núḥ, omitted his name from the *khuṭba*, and seized Níshápúr. And about the same time, as it chanced, in A. H. 343 (= A. D. 954—5) Amír Núḥ died, and was succeeded by his son ʿAbdu'l-Malik. Thus Abú ʿAlí Muslim's power became greater, and he concluded (f. 142*b*) an offensive and defensive alliance with Ruknu'd-Dawla. They agreed to invade Ṭabaristán, the former by way of Shahriyár-Kúh, the latter by Hurmazd-Kúh; but soon after they had effected a junction, Abú ʿAlí Muslim died, and his Khurásání soldiers dispersed, whereupon Ruknu'd-Dawla retired to Ray, and Washmgír remained unmolested, though enmity continued to exist between the two, until, when Manṣúr b. Núḥ the Sámánid came to the throne, he sent a large army under Muḥammad b. Ibráhím Símjúr to help Washmgír against the Buwayhid. Thereupon Ruknu'd-Dawla, being alarmed, sought for help from Baghdad and Fárs, from his brother

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Muʿizzu'd-Dawla and from the sons of ʿAḍudu'-Dawla. In the year A. H. 356 (= A. D. 967) [Abu'l-Ḥasan] Muḥammad b. Ibráhím Símjúr joined Washmgír outside Gurgán.

One day about this time Washmgír wished to go for a ride, but was advised by his astrologer not to do so. He waited till the afternoon prayer, at which time some horses were brought for him to see. Amongst these was a very fine black horse from Bukhárá. He ordered it to be saddled, mounted it, and rode forth a little way, when he remembered with vexation the astrologer's advice. Thereupon he turned back, when suddenly he was attacked by a wild boar, which gored his horse, while he fell to the ground with blood pouring from his nose, eyes and ears, and shortly afterwards expired. This was in Muḥarram, A. H. 357 (= December, A. D. 967).

Washmgír left two sons (f. 143*a*), Bahistún and Qábús, of whom the former was at this juncture in Ṭabaristán and the latter with his father. The nobles swore allegiance to Qábús, to whom [Abu'l-Ḥasan] Muḥammad b. Ibráhím Símjúr also gave his support. Bahistún, greatly disappointed, thereupon made overtures to Ruknu'd-Dawla, and went to him at Ray, while his brother Qábús continued to strengthen his hold on Ṭabaristán and Gurgán, and to conciliate the nobles by gifts of lands and money. Amongst others he was joined by his maternal uncle the Ispahbad Rustam b. Sharwín b. Shahriyár Báwand. And on Muḥarram 25, A. H. 366 (= November 28, A. D. 970) Ruknu'd-Dawla died.

ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla Abú Shujáʿ Fanákhusraw, the son of Ruknu'd-Dawla, was in Fárs with his brother Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla. The mother of both of these was the daughter of Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, the cousin on the father's side of Mákán Kákí. Fakhru'd-Dawla, the third brother, was in Hamadán. Him the other two attacked, and he fled before them to Shamsu'l-Maʿálí Qábús in Ṭabaristán, who received him

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with honour. His two brothers (f. 143*b*) offered Qábús the revenues of Ray for a year if he would surrender Fakhru'd-Dawla to them, threatening him with war in case of refusal; and on his rejecting their proposals with scorn, ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla collected a great army of Kurds, Lurs, Arabs, Daylamites and Turks, and sent them under the command of his brother Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla to invade Ṭabaristán. They met and defeated Qábús at Astarábád, and he fled with Fakhru'd-Dawla, bearing with him his treasures, to Níshápúr, where he placed himself under the protection of Tásh, who was ordered by Amír Núḥ the Sámánid to help him to recover his kingdom. Tásh thereupon marched on Gurgán, sending Fá'iq by way of Qúmish, and, aided by Qábús, besieged Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla in Gurgán for two months. In spite of the scarcity of provisions to which the garrison was reduced, Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla, at the advice of the astrologer Abu'l-Faḍl of Herát, waited till Mars, the planet fortunate to the Turks, had begun to decline. At this juncture news of the death of ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla reached him, and he secretly bribed Fá'iq and other captains of the besieging army to flee when battle should be joined, which happened on Wednesday, Ramaḍán 22, A. H. 371 (= March 21, A. D. 982). In consequence of the desertion of these faithless officers, Tásh and Qábús were defeated and compelled to retire to Níshápúr. At this time Fírúzán b. Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán ruled over Daylamán, his brother Naṣr b. Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán over Qúmish, and the Ispahbad Sharwín Báwand over Ṭabaristán.

On the death of ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla (f. 144*a*) quarrels arose between his sons, and Fakhru'd-Dawla proceeded to ʿIráq, but shortly afterwards died at Ray. Qábús meanwhile returned to Gurgán, and, by gifts and promises, tried to conciliate the chiefs of that country. Núḥ b. Manṣúr the Sámánid died, and was succeeded by Amír Raḍí. Abú ʿAlí b.

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Ḥasan Símjúr rebelled against him, and Khurásán was plunged in confusion. Amír Raḍí fled to Ghazna, and appealed for help to Sabuktagín, who had succeeded Alptagín as ruler of that place. Sabuktagín collected an army and marched on Níshápúr against Abu ʿAlí Símjúr and Fá'iq, whom he met in battle at a place called Tafsúr. Qábús, though at heart sympathizing with the Sámánids, had been compelled to place his son Dárá as a hostage in the hands of Abú ʿAlí. During the battle Dárá escaped and joined the Sámánid Amír Raḍí. Abú ʿAlí was defeated, and Sulṭán Maḥmúd b. Sabuktagín, to whose efforts the victory was largely due, was appointed by Amír Raḍí commander in chief of Khurásán, and given the title of Sayfu'd-Dawla, while his father, Sabuktagín, received Balkh as his reward, and withdrew to Herát. Amír Raḍí retired to Bukhárá, where he shortly afterwards died.

Sulṭán Mahmúd, now in secure possession of Khurásán, allied himself with Ílak Khán, and the two came to Bukhárá, seized Amír Raḍí's son, Ibráhím al-Muntaṣir, and put to death some other Sámánid princes. Muntaṣir, however (f. 144*b*), succeeded in effecting his escape to Níshápúr, and, being pursued thither by Maḥmúd, fled to Gurgán, where he was well received and generously treated by Qábús, together with Abu'l-Qásim b. Símjúr and Arslán Bálú, who were with him. Qábús further advised them, having regard to the strength of Maḥmúd and Ílak Khán, to abandon for the present all hopes of recovering Khurásán, and rather to turn their attention to Ray, which was ruled by the boy-king Majdu'd-Dawla b. Fakhru'd-Dawla. Thither, accordingly, they marched, accompanied by the two sons of Qábús, Dárá and Minúchihr, but Abu'l-Qásim and Arslán Bálú, bribed by the nobles of Ray, induced them to retire without molesting the city. The sons of Qábús left them and returned to their father, while Muntaṣir made another attempt to

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recover Níshápúr, whence he was driven back by Sulṭán Maḥmúd to Gurgán. This time, however, Qábús, seeing that Muntaṣir could effect nothing, sent 2000 men to oppose his entrance, and thenceforth (f. 145*a*) concerned himself no further with the fortunes of the House of Sámán. He sent the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Sharwín to subdue the district of Shahriyár, which was held by Rustam b. al-Marzubán, the maternal uncle of Majdu'd-Dawla Abú Ṭálib Rustam b. Fakhru'd-Dawla, whom he defeated, and proclaimed Qábús ruler of that country.

Bátí b. Sa'íd was dwelling amongst a section of the Jíl-i-Isfandárí, but, though outwardly their ally, his heart was with Qábús. Naṣr b. Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, driven by famine from Daylam, attacked and defeated them, and took prisoner the Ispahbad Abu'l-Faḍl, who shortly afterwards died. Bátí fraternized with Naṣr, and the two agreed to attack Ámul, whence they drove out the governor, Abu'l-'Abbás the chamberlain. Having occupied Ámul, Bátí wrote a letter to Qábús, informing him of the victory, and tendering his allegiance. Leaving Naṣr, he then proceeded to Astarábád and easily persuaded its inhabitants to accept the rule of Qábús, who sent the Ispahbad Shahriyár to support him (f. 145*b*) [1]. Fírúzán b. al-Ḥasan [b. Fírúzán], hearing of this, marched from Gurgán to attack them, and had almost succeeded in defeating Bátí outside Astarábád when a number of the Kurds and Arabs in his army suddenly raised the battle-cry of Qábús, and deserted to his enemy. In consequence of this Bátí not only put his army to flight, but captured him and a score of his chief officers. The fugitives were opposed and turned aside from Gurgán by the Sálár Khargásh, a

[1] [From the beginning of this page as far as l. 21 of p. 234 is entirely extracted from al-'Utbí's *Ta'ríkh al-Yamíní* (Delhi ed. of A. H. 1263, pp. ٣٠٨—٣٦٤ and ٣٥١—٣٦٩; Buláq ed. of A. H. 1286, vol. I, pp. ٣٩٤ to end, and Vol. II, pp. ١—١٧ and ١٧٣—١٩٣) A. G. E.].

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kinsman of Qábús; and the latter was soon afterwards crowned at Gurgán in Shaʿbán, A. H. 388 (= August, A. D. 998).

The fugitives were received at Ray with reproaches, and the minister Abú ʿAlí Ḥamúla[1] at once proceeded to collect an army of Turks, Arabs and Daylamites ten thousand strong, with which he set out for Gurgán, accompanied by Manúchihr[2] b. Qábús, Asfár b. Kurdúya, Abu'l-ʿAbbás b. Já'í, ʿAbdu'l-Malik Mákán, Músá Ḥájib, Bísitún b. Tíjásaf, Kinár b. Fírúzán, and Rashámúj, all leading men of Daylam. When they reached the district of Shahriyár, Qábús resolved to oppose them. Abù ʿAlí Ḥamúla sent messengers to try to win over to his side Naṣr b. Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, of whose attitude he felt doubtful, urging him, out of regard for the bond of kinship between him and Majdu'd-Dawla (f. 146*a*), to espouse his cause, and promising to reward him with the district of Qúmish. Naṣr, deceived by these promises, came to Sárí, and, taking the right hand one of the two roads to Gurgán, advanced to within a short distance of Qúmish. Here he made known to his soldiers the real reason why he had espoused the cause of Majdu'd-Dawla. Thereupon they differed in opinion, some being for Gurgán and others for Ustundár, while Naṣr, with the rem-

[1] For this correction of the reading "Ḥamawayh" (حمويه) of the MS. I am indebted to Mr. Ellis, who has looked it up in the *Yamíní* (Delhi ed., p. ٢١٩; Add. 7310 of the Museum, dated A. H. 696, f. 112*a*, and Or. 1513, dated A. H. 767, f. 108*a*. "In all these texts," he adds, "the full name of this personage appears as ابو علی الحسن بن احمد بن حمولة. The same is the case in the Bodleian MS. of the *Muʿjamu'l-Udabá* of Yáqút. (Bodl. Or. 753, f. 17*a*), as I am informed by Mr. Amedroz. The Delhi ed. of the *Yamíní* vocalizes the name as حَمّولَه, whilst the Buláq ed. (Vol. II, p. 2) and Add. 7310, f. 112*a*, agree with Ibn Isfandiyár in reading ابن حمويه."

[2] Ibn Isfandiyár has "Manṣúr b. Qábús", but, as Mr. Ellis informs me, "Minúchihr" is the reading of all texts of the *Yamíní* (Delhi ed. p. ٣٣.; Buláq ed., Vol. II, p. ٣; Add. 7310, f. 112*a*; Or. 1513, f. 108*a*.

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nant which clave to him, advanced to Qúmish, and requested Abú ʿAlí Ḥamúla to put him in possession of the citadel. They assigned to him the castle of Júmand, where he placed his family and his baggage and stores.

Abú ʿAlí Ḥamúla, leaving Naṣr b. Fírúzán at Qúmish, returned by Sárí to Gurgán, where he encamped outside the city by the Mausoleum of the Dáʿí. For two months fighting continued between him and the allies of Qábús, till famine prevailed in Gurgán, and food became hardly obtainable. Rain, floods and storms presently combined with dearth to render the position of the besiegers more and more difficult. Thereupon the soldiers of Qábús made a sortie, and a fierce fight ensued in which some 1300 men were slain. The Daylamites were defeated, and many of their chiefs, including Sipahsálár b. Kúrángíj, Zarhawájastán b. Ashkalí, Ḥaydar b. Sálár, and Muḥammad b. Wahsúdán were taken captive, while Abú ʿAlí Ḥamúla retreated to Qúmish, where he urgently summoned Naṣr b. al-Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán to assist him. Fearing the advance of Qábús, however, he dared not remain in Qúmish, but retreated to Ray, while Naṣr marched to Samnán. Here he halted and demanded re-inforcements from Majduʾd-Dawla, who sent (f. 147*a*) the son of his chamberlain Baktakín with six hundred Turkish horsemen. Qábús, on the other hand, despatched Bátí b. Saʿíd, and subsequently the Ispahbad Shahriyár, against the Daylamites. Bátí, however, suffered a serious defeat at the hands of Naṣr, and his army was annihilated.

Majduʾd-Dawla, greatly encouraged by this victory, sent his maternal uncle, Rustam b. al-Marzubán, with 3000 men to re-inforce Abú ʿAlí Ḥamúla, appointing him Ispahbad of Shahriyár. Naṣr came out to meet Rustam as far as Damáwand, and helped him to take effective possession of the district assigned to him. The Ispahbad Shahriyár fell back on Sárí to seek aid from Prince Minúchihr, the son of

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Qábús, and watched his opportunity, until, Rustam having been separated from Naṣr, he attacked him and drove him out of the country back to Ray, and established himself in his place.

After this Majdu'd-Dawla made peace with Qábús, and the two agreed to make an end of Naṣr b. Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, who, notwithstanding his ancient and noble lineage, was generally hated for his exactions and oppressions (f. 147*b*). Naṣr discovered their intention, and, hearing that Sulṭán Maḥmúd's governor of Quhistán, Arslán Hindú-bacha, had attacked and driven back Abu'l-Qásim [b.] Símjúr, he went to the latter, and, eager to avenge himself on Majdu'd-Dawla, persuaded him to attack Ray. He was, however, easily repulsed; and, while retiring in disappointment, was attacked and routed by the troops of Qábús, whereupon he and his confederate Abu'l-Qásim offered their services to Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna. Abu'l-Qásim, for reasons set forth in al-'Utbí's *Ta'ríkh-i-Yamíní*, was soon compelled (f. 148*a*) to flee from the Sulṭán's court, but Naṣr remained in the Sulṭán's service, and was finally given in fief Biyár and Júmand. These, however, did not satisfy him, and he suffered himself to be beguiled by specious promises to Ray, where he was put in chains and sent as a prisoner to the castle of Ustúnáwand, while Qábús subdued all the surrounding strongholds, and bestowed them on his chief officers and nobles.

About this time the Ispahbad Shahriyár, having collected a large army, began to shew signs of restiveness, and Rustam b. Marzubán was sent against him from Ray, followed by Bísitún b. Tíjásf, who defeated and took him prisoner. Rustam, being a partisan of Qábús and ill-disposed towards the ruler of Ray, proclaimed Qábús king, with the acquiescence and approval of Bisitún. Qábús conferred Gílán on his son Minúchihr, and shortly afterwards reduced the dis-

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tricts of Ustundáriyya, Rúyán and Jálús, so that his dominions now included, besides these regions, Gurgán, Ṭabaristán and Daylam to the shores of the Caspian Sea (f. 148*b*). He also entered into friendly relations with Sulṭán Maḥmúd.

For all his noble qualities, his learning, piety, munificence, magnanimity, wisdom, prudence and intelligence, Qábús was, however, arrogant, harsh, and sometimes cruel. No one was secure against his occasional acts of violence, and many men of condition suffered death at his hands, so that a growing discontent became apparent. Now he had a chamberlain called Naᶜím, a simple and guiltless man, whom he had made governor of Astarábád; and him, on the mere suspicion of his inclining to the Muᶜtazilite heresy, he condemned to death. Naᶜím craved a respite, that he might establish his innocence (p. 149*a*), but his request was refused, and he was put to death by Qábús. This so exasperated the nobles and officers that they determined to depose Qábús, who had gone for change of air to Janáshk, and knew nothing of their disaffection until one night they surrounded and attacked his camp and plundered his baggage, but were driven off by his retainers. They then went to Gurgán, seized the city, and brought thither Prince Minúchihr, the son of Qábús, from Ṭabaristán, threatening him that, unless he would consent to depose his father and accept the crown at their hands, they would find another ruler and cast off their allegiance to his house. Minúchihr, being unable to oppose them, deemed it best to agree to their demands.

Meanwhile Qábús, with his retainers and baggage, came to Bisṭám, there to await the upshot of the affair (f. 149*b*), and his son Minúchihr was compelled by the rebels to march against him. Qábús summoned Minúchihr into his presence, which he entered with every mark of respect and with tears in his eyes. After bewailing the untoward events

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which had forced him in appearance to oppose his father, Minúchihr offered, if Qábús wished it, openly to espouse his cause; but the latter, recognizing the hopelessness of his own position, gave Minúchihr his blessing and handed over to him his signet-ring and the keys of his treasuries, and retired to Janáshk, there to end his days in prayer and pious exercises. The rebels, however, could feel no security as long as Qábús was alive, and soon found on opportunity to put him to death secretly (f. 150*a*) [1]. He was buried beneath a dome outside Gurgán on the road to Khurásán.

After mourning for three days, according to the fashion of the Daylamites, Minúchihr ascended the throne and assumed the reins of government, while Qábús was soon forgotten:

كَأَنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ بَيْنَ ٱلْحَجُونِ إِلَى ٱلصَّفَا أَنِيسٌ وَ لَمْ يَسْمُرْ بِمَكَّةَ سَامِرُ

Letters of condoleance from the Caliph al-Qádir Bi'lláh, conferring on him the title of Falaku'l-Ma'álí, soon reached Minúchihr, who made it his first business to conciliate, with presents and professions of loyalty, the powerful Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna, who recognized his sovereignty in Gurgán, Ṭabaristán and Qúmish, and sent Abú Muḥammad b. Mihrán as an ambassador to confer on him a robe of honour and other marks of his favour; while he on his part agreed to pay a yearly tribute of 50,000 *dínárs*, and, on the occasion of the campaign against Nárdín, supplied a contingent of a thousand picked soldiers of Daylam (f. 150*b*). Later Minúchihr sent Abú Sa'd Sawák, the greatest noble of Gurgán, to Sulṭán Maḥmúd to pray that he would bestow on him, for the confirming of the alliance, the hand of one of his daughters. To this request a favourable answer was brought back by the ambassador, who was then

[1] See Dawlatsháh, pp. 48--49 of my edition.

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sent to Ghazna a second time accompanied by the Qáḍí of Gurgán to drew up the marriage-contract and bring back the bride (f. 151*a*).

Having thus secured his position, Minúchihr prepared to take vengeance on his father's murderers, which he had hitherto feared to do, and did not rest until he had put most of them to death, save the son of Khargásh, who fled into exile, and none knows what fate overtook him. Abu'l-Qásim Ja'dí, who had been in command of the army of Qábús, long evaded capture, and finally (f. 151*b*) took refuge with the Sulṭán at Níshápúr, who, however, handed him over to Minúchihr, from whom he met with his deserts.

To return now to Minúchihr's brother Dárá, who, as we saw (p. 227 *supra*), escaped from the custody of Abú 'Alí b. Símjúr and joined the Sámánid Amír Raḍí. When his father Qábús had established his rule, Dárá continued for a time in his service, but presently, his fears and suspicious being aroused, he again fled secretly into Khurásán, where he was at first well received (f. 152*a*) by the Sulṭán, but presently, falling under suspicion, he escaped to Sháh Shár of Ghars, between whom and himself an ancient friendship existed, but who dared not persist in refusing his surrender to the Sulṭán. He was imprisoned by the Sulṭán for some time — more rigorously after he had once succeeded in escaping —, but was finally received back into favour, and sent with Arslán Jádhib[1] to assume the government of Ṭabaristán and Gurgán, whence, however, owing to the wisdom of his brother Minúchihr in conciliating Sulṭán Maḥmúd, he was speedily recalled, and attached to the Sulṭán's personal service. At this juncture (f. 152*b*) Amír Abu'l-Fawáris,

[1] The India Office MS. (A) has "Ḥárib", but the British Museum MS. Add. 7633 (B.), f. 182*b*, "Jádhib", which is, as Mr. Ellis points out, certainly correct, as it is confirmed by all texts of the *Yamíní* (Delhi ed., p. ٣٣٤; Buláq ed., Vol. II, p. ١٩٠; Add. 7310, f. 177*a*; Or. 1513, f. 170*a*.

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son of ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla the Buwayhid, came from Kirmán to the Sulṭán to complain of the wrongs which he had suffered at his brother's hands, and a dispute occurred between him and Dárá as to the nobility and antiquity of their respective families in the course of which the latter made use of expressions so insulting and improper that he was again disgraced and imprisoned till Muḥarram, A. H. 409 (= May-June, A. D. 1018), when, at the intercession of the Prime Minister, he was released, and his estates were restored to his stewards.

In A. H. 424 (= A. D. 1033) Minúchihr died, and was succeeded by his son [Abú] Kálanjár, who was the comtemporary of Sulṭán Maʿsúd b. Maḥmúd of Ghazna. In A. H. 425 (= A. D. 1033—4) the latter, in spite of the urgent dissuasion of his ministers and nobles, decided to visit the former in Gurgán and Ṭabaristán. Abú Kálanjár answered (f. 153*a*), "I am thy servant: the king does but visit his own house;" but he retired to one of his castles, and even ventured a remonstrance at the exactions and irregularities committed by Masʿúd's troops. Finally, as summer advanced and the weather grew warm, Masʿúd retired to Gurgán, where, on the very day of his arrival, he learned that two thousand Seljúq Turkmáns had reached Merv, and had been joined by two of the sons of Seljúq, Yaghmur and Búqá. This was the first revolt of the Seljúqs, and their power continued to increase until Jaghrí[1] Beg Dáʾúd seized Khwárazm, and thence marched to Ṭabaristán and Ray, occupying and annexing most of the realms of the House of Washmgír (or Ziyárids) except the mountains. And in A. H. 441 (= A. D. 1049—1050) Abù Kálanjár died[2].

[1] Add. 7633, f. 183*b*, has جغر بیگ, "Jaghar Beg", but on the authority of ar-Ráwandí's *History of the Seljúqs* (N°. 1314 *Suppl. Persan* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, f. 37*b*), transcribed in A. H. 635, I prefer this form. See *J. R. A. S.* for 1902, p. 585.

[2] Ibnu'l-Athír places his death in A. H. 440.

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He was succeeded by his cousin Kay-Ká'ús b. Iskandar b. Qábús, chiefly celebrated as the author of the Qábús-náma [1], who was contemporary with Rustam b. Shahriyár, and ruled in the mountain districts until A. H. 462 (= A. D. 1069—1070), when he died, and was succeeded by his son [Gílánsháh], to whom there remained but a shadow of power. For Ṭughril the Seljúq had traversed Ṭabaristán and Gílán, levying taxes and appointing governors (f. 153*b*), and thence had passed on to Ray [and Baghdad], restored the authority of the Caliph al-Qá'im bi-amri'lláh and put down the agents of the Fáṭimid Anti-Caliph al-Mustanṣir, and in return for all his services received the title of Sulṭán. Gílánsháh died, and was succeeded by his cousin Anúshirwán b. Minúchihr b. Qábús, in A. H. 471 (= A. D. 1078—9) [2].

[Here follows some account of Alp Arslán's conquests, and in particular of a wonderful march which he made with 100,000 men from Balásághún to the Euphrates to relieve the Caliph al-Qa'im, who was hard pressed by the Byzantines. This march he is said to have accomplished in sixteen days. The author now turns back to trace the history of the Ispahbads of the House of Báw from the earliest times down to the period which he has now reached.]

(F. 154*a*). To the Ispahbads of this ancient and noble house was given the title "King of the Mountains" (*Maliku'l-Jibál*). Their ancestor Báw was a vassal of Khusraw Parwíz, whom he aided in his wars with the "Romans" and

[1] An excellent edition of this interesting book of counsels was lithographed at Tihrán in A. H. 1285.

[2] The chronology here seems very confused, this same date being given for the death of Ṭughril, who really died in A. H. 455 (A. D. 1063). A little further on, however, the date of Alp Arslán's death is correctly given as A. H. 465 (A. D. 1072), but on f. 158*a* the same erroneous date is repeated.

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with his rebellious subject Bahrám Chúbína, and for whom he successively governed Iṣṭakhr, Ádharbayján, ʿIráq and Ṭabaristán. Over the latter province he maintained his sway for 15 years after the Arabs had overrun the rest of Persia, but was at last treacherously slain by Walásh, who struck him from behind with a brick, and usurped his authority, driving his son Suhráb into exile. The latter, however, aided by the men of Kúlá, Khúrzád, Khusraw-isfáhí and Qárin-kúh, attacked Walásh at Panjáh-hazár and slew him, and was crowned at Farím. From that time until the death of Fakhruʾd-Dawla, though they were partially subdued at different times by the ʿAlawí Sayyids, the House of Gáwbára, the Qárinwands, the Buwayhids and the Ziyárids, no king or ruler was able to destroy or extirpate them, or (f. 154*b*) to take undivided possession of their domains.

Suhráb was succeeded by his son Mihr-mardán, and he, after a brief reign, by his grandson Sharwín b. Surkháb, who was the contemporary of Wandád-Hurmazd, and first took the title of "King of the Mountains". He and Wandád-Hurmazd united to drive the Arabs out of Ṭabaristán. The sons of these two, Shahriyár b. Sharwín and Qárin b. Wandád-Hurmazd were contemporaries of Hárúnuʾr-Rashíd, to whom the former had been given as a hostage by his father.

Shahriyár was followed successively by his two sons Jaʿfar and Qárin. The latter, in the Caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim, in the year A. H. 227 (= A. D. 841—2) abandoned the Zoroastrian religion and embraced Islám. He was the contemporary of the Dáʿiʾl-Kabír, who sent the Ustundár Padhúsbán to ravage his lands until he submitted to the Sayyid, and committed to him his sons Mázyár and Surkháb in the year A. H. 252 (= A. D. 866). The latter died young, and was succeeded by his son Rustam. When the

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Dáʿí, who was still reigning, punished the Daylamites for their disobedience by cutting off the hands and feet of about a thousand of them, the remainder of them fled to this Rustam, who led them to Qúmish, captured it, and banished the Dáʿí's viceroy, Sayyid Qásim, to Sháh Dizh in Hazár Jaríb.

Rustam, being on bad terms with the Sayyid Muḥammad b. Zayd (f. 155*a*) joined Ráfiʿ b. Harthama, the governor of Khurásán, and with him ravaged Mázandarán, Daylam and Rúyán. After a while Ráfiʿ returned to Khurásán, and, being routed by ʿAmr b. Layth, fled to Gurgán and made peace with the Sayyid, but sent a message to Rustam informing him that this truce was only a stratagem, and inviting him to meet him at Astarábád. On his arrival, however, Rustam was treacherously seized by Ráfiʿ as he sat at meat, and was cast into prison, where he died in Ramaḍán, A. H. 282 (= October—November, A. D. 895).

He was succeeded by his son Sharwín, who made peace with Sayyid Náṣir-i-Kabír, and was contemporary with Mákán b. Kákí. Sharwín was in turn succeeded by his son Shahriyár, who was contemporary with Ruknu'd-Dawla the Buwayhid and Washmgír b. Ziyár. His son, who predeceased him, bore the name of his grandfather, Sharwín. Shahriyár survived till the time of Qábús b. Washmgír and Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna.

[Here the author cites from the *Chahár Maqála* the account of Firdawsí, and how he took refuge from Sulṭán Maḥmúd with this prince, given in that work by Nidhámí-i-ʿArúḍí-i-Samarqandí; which account has been published with a German translation by Dr. Ethé at pp. 89—94 of the *Z. D. M. G.* for 1894, Vol. XLVIII, and criticised by Nöldeke in his *Iranische Nationalepos*, pp. 21—30 of the *tirage-à-part*. A full English translation of this passage, which extends from f. 155*a*, l. 17 to f. 157*b*, l. 12, will be found

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at pp. 77—84 of my translation of the *Chahár Maqála*, so that it may be passed over in this place.]

(F. 157*b*). The Ispahbad Shahriyár was succeeded by Dárá, who reigned but a short time, and was followed by his son Shahriyár, who accompanied Qábús b. Washmgír in his 18 years' exile, conquered Shahriyár-kúh and expelled its governor Rustam b. Marzubán, and, assisted by Bátí b. Sa'íd, in A. H. 387 (= A. D. 997) defeated Fírúzán b. al-Ḥasan, and afterwards Naṣr b. Ḥasan.[1] But towards the end of the reign of Qábús (f. 158*a*) Shahriyár rebelled against him, and, being defeated by Rustam b. Marzubán, was imprisoned till his death. After this none of the House of Báwand dared shew themselves or claim any power, until, when the Seljúqs conquered Khurásán, and the power of the House of Washmgír was destroyed, the Ispahbad Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Shahriyár b. Qárin restored in some degree the power and fortunes of his house.

[The author now returns to the history of the Seljúqs at the point where he left it to recount the history of the Báwands, namely the death of Ṭughril and the accession of Alp Arslán. Most of what follows belongs to the general history of Persia from this to the Author's own time (first half of the thirteenth century of our era), while another hand has carried on the chronicle to A. H. 750 = A. D. 1349—1350.][2]

(F. 158*b*). During the reign of Alp Arslán, Ṭabaristán suffered much from the constant passage of his troops, but the Ispahbad Qárin b. Surkháb of the House of Báwand succeeded in re-establishing his power to some extent in the mountains, while the power of the House of Washmgír continually grew less. Qárin died in A. H. 486 (= A. D.

[1] See above, pp. 228—231.

[2] "This continuation," observes Mr. Ellis, "is absent from Add. 7633, f. 188*b*."

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1093), and was succeeded by Ḥusámu'd-Dawla. About this time began the power of the Assassins. The 'New Propaganda', begun by Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáh in Ray, was soon extended to Dámghán, Shahriyár-kúh, Damáwand and Qazwín, till finally the mountain fastness of Alamút, "the Eagle's Nest", was surrendered to them by its warden, ᶜAlawí Mahdí, on Wednesday, Rajab 6, A. H. 483 (= September 4, A. D. 1090), a date which, by a most curious coincidence, is represented by the sum of the numerical values of the letters composing its name [1]. ᶜAlawí Mahdí received from Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ an order for 3000 *dínárs* on the governor of Gird-i-Kúh and Dámghán, Ra'is Mudhaffar, who, though ostensibly subordinate to Amír Dád Ḥabash b. Altúntásh, had secretly accepted the doctrine of, and sworn allegiance to, Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ. It was a great surprise to Mahdí when, on his presenting this order, it was at once honoured. The growing power (f. 159*b*) of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ aroused the alarm of the Nidhámu'l-Mulk, who, however, was assassinated on the eve of Friday, Ramaḍán 12, A. H. 485 (= October 16, A. D. 1092) at Siḥna near Naháwand by one of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáh's *fidá'ís* named Ṭáhir-i-Arrání, who had disguised himself as a Ṣúfí.

Very shortly after this, Maliksháh (f. 160*a*) died, and the civil war which broke out between his sons Muḥammad and Barkiyáruq permitted the Assassins to strengthen their position unmolested. On the death of Barkiyáruq, Muḥammad sent his brother Sanjar to attack them in Khurásán. He began by capturing a stronghold named Qalᶜa-i-Átash-Kúh

[1] This coincidence is remarked in the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* and many other histories. The name of the castle must, however, to yield the correct sum, be written in its full form آلهٔ آموت, *Áluh-ámút*. I believe that Ibnu'l-Athír's explanation of the name as meaning "the Eagle's Teaching" is correct, for *áluh* occurs in Pahlawí meaning an eagle, and *ámút* certainly stands for *ámúkht* ("taught").

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("the Castle of the Mountain of Fire")[1] which they had seized at the very gates of Isfahán, and putting several thousand of them to death there. He also ordered the Ispahbad Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Shahriyár b. Qárin to co-operate with him in extirpating the Assassins, under pain of dismissal, but he, displeased at the peremptory and minatory tone of the message, refused to do so. Thereupon[2] the Seljúq monarch sent 5000 horsemen under the command of Amír Sunqur of Bukhárá to Mázandarán, ordering his governors in Lárijān, Rúyán and Ámul to join him and assist him. At Ámul, accordingly, he was met by a number of local magnates (f. 160*b*), who proposed to accompany him by the sea-shore to Sárí. The Ispahbad Ḥusámu'd-Dawla, being informed of this, collected to himself Amír Mahdí of Lafúr, one of the Qárinwands, and all the *amírs* and notables of Shahriyár Kúh, at a place called Áram, and together they marched on Sárí, of which they proceeded to repair the fortifications. Sunqur encamped at a place called Atrábin. The Ispahbad promised his black Persian *kuláh*, round which he had wound a turban, to whichever of his sons would attack and rout the enemy. Najmu'd-Dawla Qárin at once alighted from his horse, took a Gílí shield, opened the gate and went out, followed by his son, Fakhru'l-Mulk Rustam. Ḥusámu'd-Dawla had with him four hundred Gílís, all with shields and white plumes (*parcham*), and these he drew up in ranks before Sunqur's army. Then Farámarz b. Shírzád came forth with his horsemen.

Now Husámu'd-Dawla had induced an Amír named Bekcherí to desert Sunqur as soon as battle was joined; this he did, and was received with honour and sent to the Is-

[1] See *J. R. A. S.* for 1902, pp. 606—609. The castle in question is generally named Dizkúh or Sháh-Dizh. It fell on Sha'bán 6, A. H. 500 (= April 2, A. D. 1107).

[2] ["In A. H. 500 (= A. D. 1106—7)": so Add. 7633, f. 191*a*. A. G. E.]

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pahbad's palace. Najmu'd-Dawla Qárin then attacked Sunqur; the noise of battle scared all the water-fowl in the surrounding marshes (f. 161*a*) and they rose into the air with tumultuous cries, so that Sunqur thought that he was being attacked by another force in the rear. His army gave way, and fled, pursued by Najmu'd-Dawla, who killed and took captive many of them, especially the foot-soldiers of Ámul. The people of Sárí blackened the faces of the captive Ámulís, branded on their foreheads the names of Muḥammad and ʿAlí, and paraded them through the town, after which they were released. Then the Ispahbad divided the abundant spoils which had fallen to their lot, and dismissed the *marzubáns* and other local chiefs who had helped him with presents and robes of honour.

Sunqur meanwhile fell back on Gurgán, and thence returned to Isfahán, where he told the Sulṭán that by force they could effect nothing in that wild country, but only by political stratagems. So the Sulṭán sent another embassy to the Ispahbad, telling him that Sunqur had exceeded his orders in making this attack, and asking him to send one of his sons to the court at Isfahán. To this proposal the Ispahbad finally consented, on receiving the Sulṭán's solemn promise, confirmed by an oath, that the son thus sent should be treated with all honour; and, summoning his sons before him, communicated to them the Sulṭán's proposal, and asked which of them would go. Najmu'd-Dawla Qárin, having taken part in the attack on Sunqur, dared not venture, but his brother ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla ʿAli b. (f. 161*b*) Shahriyár volunteered to go, and was accordingly sent off to Isfahán with a pious Sayyid named Muntahí as his tutor, and an escort of a thousand horse and two thousand foot. His father accompanied him from Sárí as far as Farím, and sent him on his journey by way of Asrán and Samnán.

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At this time the castle of Ustúnáwand was in the hands of the Assassins, and also the castle of Manṣúr-kúh. Some of the garrison of the latter had come to Dámghán, and the Amír Qachghuz attacked them and slew many. Then he joined ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla ʿAlí, and, being under obligations to his father Ḥusámu'd-Dawla the Ispahbad, took charge of him and brought him to Isfahán, where he was most graciously received by the Sulṭán, who was still more favourably impressed when he saw the young Prince's prowess in polo, hunting, and throwing the mace, which he could throw as far as the Sulṭán could shoot an arrow. The Sulṭán then offered him the hand of his sister in marriage, but he, fearing the jealousy of Najmu'd-Dawla, suggested that this honour should rather be accorded to his elder brother. The Sulṭán approved this suggestion; the marriage contract was drawn up, and ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla was sent back to Ṭabaristán with presents and robes of honour to convey the news. At Ámul he was magnificently received by all the notables, and there he tarried ten days, when he was joined by the chief men of Shahriyár-kúh, who accompanied him to Sárí. His father, after congratulating him on his success, sent him to his brother Najmu'd-Dawla Qárin, who, however, refused to receive him, and, being rebuked by their father the Ispahbad, sought permission to go to Baghdad, which he was suffered to do.

On reaching Baghdad, Najmu'd-Dawla, who was a brave and skilful horseman, perfect in all knightly accomplishments, was met by the Sulṭán, who soon afterwards took him with himself to Isfahán, where he married him to his sister. Then he set out to return to Ṭabaristán, on hearing which his younger brother ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla craved permission from their father the Ispahbad to retire into seclusion, for he feared his brother (f. 162*b*). Ḥusámu'd-Dawla met his son Najmu'd-Dawla at Farím towards Sam-

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nán, and gave him the castle of Kúzá. This vexed ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla, since it had been given to him, and, though his father sent Amír Mahdí of Lafúr to Zárim, where he was, to pacify him, he retired in anger to Gulpáyagán, and took up his abode in a village called Mírwand-ábád, which was his mother's property. Najmu'd-Dawla came to Sárí, and, charging his father with being privy to his brother's withdrawal, threatened him, ill-used his servants, and desired to claim for himself the symbols of authority; and his father, being then 75 years of age, finally gave way to his violent and unfilial conduct, abdicated, and retired to Ámul. Thither Najmu'd-Dawla, fearful of what men might say of him, followed him, offered profuse apologies, and brought him back to Sárí; but, as his conduct did not greatly amend, Ḥusámu'd-Dawla again withdrew to Húsam into religious seclusion. "I have heard from my father," says the author, "that when he reached Ámul, he passed by the gate of a Mosque where was a school for children, and said (f. 163*a*), 'O my children, when you grow up, say, 'Shahriyár, abandoning his throne, fled to Daylamán from the hands of his own son Qárin.'" All the people of Gíl and Daylam rallied round him at Húsam, but he, wearied of sovereignty, occupied himself in building, farming and religious exercises. After a while he fell ill, and his son Najmu'd-Dawla, again repenting of his harshness, sent several notables to Ámul to bring his father thither. There he met him, fell at his feet and apologized for his conduct, and brought him with him to Sárí, leaving the care of the estates of Húsam to an old servant called Amír Ḥasan.

The Sulṭán, Muḥammad b. Maliksháh, had a young son named Malik Aḥmad, whom he entrusted to the care of an Amír named Sunqur-i-Kúchak, and sent to Ray, making him governor of that town, together with Áwa, Sáwa, Arrán, Khwár, Samnán, Rúyán, Láriján, Ṭabaristán and Gurgán.

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But every agent sent by Sunqur-i-Kúchak to Ámul was expelled by Najmu'd-Dawla Qárin. This continued for some time, till at last Sunqur sent to ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla ʿAlí, Najmu'd-Dawla's brother, offering to appoint him governor of Ámul and Ṭabaristán, if he would come to Malik Aḥmad. So ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla (f. 163*b*) came to Ray, where he was well received, and sent with Sunqur's brother Jáwalí an army to Ámul. There the notables came out to meet him, with Amír Ḥassán Bahá'u'd-Dawla the governor of the town, and installed him in the palace called Kúshk-i-Jáwalí, which in the author's time was razed to the ground by Sháh Ardashír. Ḥusámu'd-Dawla, on hearing this, came with the army of Shahriyár-kúh to Lák-Ábandán, and made an agreement with Jáwalí, whom he sent with Sháh Ghází Rustam to Áram, where he was entertained for a week, and then sent back to ʿIráq.

About this time a quarrel arose between the Ispahbad and the Assassins, because they had killed a certain Abú Jaʿfar Báwandí. One day the Ispahbad Sháh Gházi Rustam was passing through the quarter of the Mosque of Zanakú when an Assassin sprang out on him and tried to stab him, but failed and was slain by the clubs of the companions of his intended victim. To his father Sháh Ghází made light of this event, but a little later, while on his way from Sárí to Ámul, two Assassins attacked him while he was out hunting in the plain of Walíkán, at a moment when he had alighted to drink water, and inflicted a deep gash in his side. One of these Assassins was killed by Ḥusayn Shírzíl; the other drew his knife (f. 164*a*), rushed amongst the Ispahbad's servants, and wounded several of them ere he was himself slain. Sháh Ghází recovered from his wound, which, though deep, had not involved the intestines. His father the Ispahbad came to Ámul on hearing the news, and wept bitterly over his son's misfortune.

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About this time Sulṭán Sanjar commanded the Ispahbad to wait on him, but he apologized on the ground of his age, and offered to send his sons. Sanjar was angry at this, and sent his nephew Sulṭán Masʿúd with an army to Astarábád to take Shahriyár-Kúh from the Ispahbad, who, however, defeated him near Tammísha and slew many of his men. He was joined by Kiyá Buzurg ad-Dáʿí ilaʾl-Ḥaqq [b. al-] Hádí with 5000 Daylamites, and soon afterwards by his son Sháh-i-Ghází, who had recovered from his wound (f. 164*b*); and with their aid inflicted a second still more severe defeat on Masʿúd, who, having lost half his army, together with the Amír Jáwalí, fled to Gurgán. This happened in A. H. 521 (= A. D. 1127).

Sanjar, infuriated at this reverse, invited one of his *amírs* to volunteer to avenge it. Bazghash offered his services, which were accepted, and came to Dámghán, whence he sent harsh messages to the Ispahbad, who was at the castle of Kúzá, and who received his threats with derision. It was then Ramaḍán, but, as soon as the fast and ensuing festival were over, he moved to Tammísha, while Bazghash came to Astarábád and besieged the castle of Rúhín. The Ispahbad left his son Tájuʾl-Mulúk Mardáwíj in Tammísha, and came to Sárí. Mardáwíj remained for eight months (f. 165*a*) in Tammísha, so that Bazghash could not move, while Qárin b. Garshásf continued to defend the castle of Rúhín successfully. Then news arrived that Qarája the cup-bearer had gone to Baghdad with the army of ʿIráq and was acting as Atábek, or guardian, to Seljúqsháh, and that Masʿúd also had gone to them from Gurgán; and Bazghash, being recalled by the Sulṭán, was compelled to retire.

The Ustundár Kay-Káʾús and Fakhruʾd-Dawla Garshásf agreed together to rebel against the Ispahbad. When each had returned to his own country, the latter first revolted at Gulpáyagán, and ravaged the district of Astarábád. The

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Ispahbad retaliated by attacking Gulpáyagán, plundering and burning the neigbourhood, and killing several of Fakhru'd-Dawla's men. Meanwhile the Ustundár Kay-Ká'ús took advantage of the Ispahbad's absence to attack Ámul, burn the Ispahbad's palace of Baqrá-Kaláta, and expel his retainers from the town. Fakhru'd-Dawla meanwhile, being driven out of Gulpáyagán, retired to the castle of Jahína. The Ispahbad despatched his son ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla Ḥasan to attack Kay-Ká'ús, who, however, set an ambush for him and defeated him, so that he fled, and, by the help of one Dárgíl, crossed over by boat into Gílán and betook himself to the house of Sulṭán-Sháh-i-Gíl. After a while he desired to return to his father the Ispahbad, who, however, being vexed at his defeat, refused to receive him, and ordered that he should retire to Karkam, and that certain of his officers, Amír ʿAlí Sábiqu'd-Dawla, Mudhaffar-i-ʿAlawí (f. 165*b*), Majdu'd-Dín Dárá and Abú Háshim-i-ʿAlawí, should for a period of one year not ride on horseback, and should each retire to a different place, which in each case he specified. But Amír ʿAlí Sábiqu'd-Dawla propitiated the Ispahbad with a gift of a thousand sheep, though he was still kept out of his fief-holds for a year. Shortly afterwards the Ispahbad succeeded in surprising and putting to flight the Ustundár Kay-Káʿús, and plundering his palace.

One of the Ispahbad's vassals named Minúchihr had embellished his estate of Kuhrúd with all sorts of rare merchandise from India, Asia Minor, Egypt and Syria. He had several daughters and eighteen sons, of whom the eldest, Abú Ḥarb, was violent, undutiful, shameless, and without fear of God. One day he fled from his father, who sent soldiers in pursuit of him. He had reached the dyke called Dar-band-i-Shínúh when they came up with him, and he, to escape, leaped his horse into the river Hurmuz, which there runs like a mill-race. The soldiers, supposing him to have

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perished, returned, but he reached the shore and made his way to Ámul, where he was furnished with clothes (f. 166*a*), and sent to the court of the Ispahbad, who treated him with kindness and sent him back to his father.

His father, meanwhile, had disinherited him in favour of a younger brother, which so infuriated him that one night in Ramaḍán he invited his brothers to a banquet, and caused each one to be murdered as he was leaving the house. Then he came to his father, and, taking him unawares, smote him on the head with a mace and slew him (f. 166*b*), while his followers cut down one or two servants who offered resistance. He then announced to the people that he had done this deed by order of the king of Mázandarán, and sent a message to the Ispahbad, saying what he had done, and promising to appear before him if summoned. So the Ispahbad, who was just setting out for Ámul from Kajúr, bade him come, and Abú Ḥarb joined him with 300 soldiers, horse and foot. The combined armies marched by way of Daylamán, Kalár, and Gúrshírad to Kajú, which they set on fire. Near this place they were met by the Ustundár Kay-Ká'ús, and a fierce fight ensued, in which 900 of the Ustundár's men were killed and 400 taken prisoners, though he himself escaped with a few retainers. The Ispahbad (f. 167*a*) than returned to Ámul, where he bound the 400 unfortunate captives to the staircase of the Palace which Kay-Ká'ús had burned, wrapped it in reeds and matting, and burned them all. The Ispahbad then set out for Daylamán, but when he reached Banafsha-gún, Kay-Ká'ús came before him with a sword and a winding-sheet to make his submission. He was ordered to collect his army and join the Ispahbad at Ámul to help him in dislodging Garshásf from his castle of Juhína. There he received, at the Ispahbad's command, 1000 gold *dínárs* of Ámul from the *marzubán* of that city, whose exactions had,

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as he declared, driven him into rebellion, and a remission of certain sums of money for which he was responsible....

(F. 167*b*). The Ispahbad Sháh Ghází Rustam was now sixty years old. On the first of Farwardín, the Persian Nawrúz, he reviewed his army at Sárí, in the *maydán* of Atrábin, Sábiq of Qazwín being on one side of him, and on the other Abú Ḥarb of Láriján. He bade them bring him a polo-stick and ball, and struck the ball, saying, "O sixtieth year, I know not whether thou art come for sickness or death!" Then he threw down the polo-stick and dismissed his army; and on that very day he fell sick. He retired to the village of Zínwán, distant one parasang from Sárí, and there died on the 17th of Farwardín, A. H. 558 (April, A. D. 1163), leaving two sons, Sharafu'l-Mulúk Ḥasan b. Rustam and ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla, and a daughter, whom Sháh Ardashír gave in marriage to the Ispahbad Naṣíru'd-Dawla Dárá b. Bahman. ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla was put to death by Sháh Ardashír near Tarícha. On the death of Sháh Ghází Rustam a poet has the following verses:

دیو سپید سر ز دماوند کن برون
کاندر زمانه رستم مازندران نماند
ای پرده دار پرده فرو هل که بار نیست
بر تخت رستم بن علی شهریار نیست

The Ispahbad Sháh Ghází was buried by the notables of Ṭabaristán, such as the Ispahbad Majdu'd-Dín Dárá, king of Daylamán, Amír ʿAlí Sábiqu'd-Dawla, Sayyid Háshim the ʿAlawí and Amír Surkháb, in the college where ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla had been buried. After the funeral these notables met in the house of Shahrásán b. Ásán, and (f. 168*a*) wrote to Sharafu'l-Mulúk Ḥasan to inform him of his father's death. He, though ill at the time, at once came to Sárí,

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and despatched his boon-companion Kay-Ká'ús with fifty horsemen to Ábá-sar to seize his brother Náṣiru'l-Mulk, who enjoyed the fullest confidence of the late Ispahbad Sháh Ghází, and cut off his head.... The warden of the castle of Ṭabarak sent to the Ispahbad offering to surrender it, as he was a Turk, and could not hold it. "'Iráq also," he added, "like Mázandarán, is thine: send thy warden to Ṭabarak, and take possession of Ray, for I have business before me." So, though it was bitter cold that year, the Ispahbad sent 300 men and a warden to take possession of that country, and ordered the *marzubán* of Láriján and the Ustundár to keep a daily watch on the state of the castle and the Amír Ínánj.

When the Ispahbad used to sit late drinking wine, none of his servants dared go to his home, for, if he wanted one of them, and did nor find him, he would on such occasions punish him with death. So only when he fell asleep towards morning did they dare to depart to their homes to rest. One night 300 of these servants conspired together to kill him, and those who were on duty, watching their opportunity, fell upon him, and so plied their swords and maces that, when they left him dead, not one of his limbs was whole. Then (f. 168*b*) they went out, saying that the Ispahbad desired to be left alone, and bade all disperse, which they did. Sháh Ardashír, learning what had happened, desired to pursue the murderers, but was dissuaded; but such as were recognized were arrested wherever they were found and sent to him, singly or in batches, and he caused them to be hung up and shot with arrows, until in the course of a year, all had been taken and killed.

The Ispahbad had four sons and one daughter. Two of the sons, Yazdigird and 'Alí, died before their father, while Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Sháh Ardashír and Fakhru'l-Mulúk Rustam survived him. His daughter was noted for her piety, de-

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voutness and virtue. Náṣiru'd Dín Rúz-Bihán composed the following verses on the death of the Ispahbad:

ای آمدن و گذشتنت چون سیلاب
چون آتش سوختنی جهانی بشتاب
چون باد نه آسایش بودیت نه خواب
در خاك نهان شدی کنون چون سیماب

When the Ustundár Hazárasp obtained control of his dominion, he ordered his son Zar-míwand Máníwand and his brother Shirwánsháh to be put to death. Both fled for protection to king Ardashír, who (f. 169*a*) sent a message of remonstrance to the Ustundár, saying:

جوان سبك سر بود خویش کام سبك سر سبکتـ در افتد بدام

Admonition, however, availed nothing. The Ustundár was abandoned by ʿAynu'd-Dawla Siyáh, Arslán, Ṭanṭiq and the Turkish Amírs, who joined themselves to the King, and were re-inforced by Arjásf, who, having obtained king Ardashír's permission, raided the marches of Daylamán, and brought in all the inhabitants and the soldiers of that district into Ámul, on which Hazárasp began to march. King Ardashír collected an army of 14,000 Turks and Tájíks, set out for Rúyán, and came as far as Nátil, where he heard that Hazárasf was engaged in battle with Khwájak. The King sent on his standards and insignia, and as soon as these were seen, Hazárasp's men took to flight, and many were taken and killed, while he himself fell back on Kajú. The King encamped at Siyáh-rúd, where he remained two days, till the people of Rúyán came in to make their submission to him. Then he marched on to Kajú, ravaging the country as he went, and then returned to Qúr-shírad and Kalár (f. 169*b*).

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In this year Sulṭán Ṭughril and the Atábek Muḥammad [1] rebelled, and demanded help from the King, having already received it from the Caliph, the Amírs of Aywa, and the armies of Arrán, Ádharbayján, Akhlát and Maráǵha. The Ispahbad Bahá'u'd-Dín was accordingly sent to join them, and he came to Lafúr with so splendid an equipment of weapons adorned with gold that he was nick-named "the Golden Amír" (*Amír-i-Zarrín*). He aided in defeating the Atábek Darkala, and was dismissed to his country with honour and presents, while the Ispahbad was thanked for the aid which he had lent.

In this year a noble, brave and accomplished ʿAlawí waited on the king, and was by him given rank and insignia, and assigned the district of Daylamán, which belonged to Kiyá Buzurg ad-Dáʿí ila'l-Ḥaqq ar-Riḍá b. al-Hádí. He at once entered into possession, and ruled justly, and put to death the Ispahbad Shahriyár and Rustam, and liberated Bárkala after he had been imprisoned for some years, and imprisoned the governor of the city (*shahr-dár*) for sixteen years (f. 170*a*) in the castle of Kúzá ....

In this year also Táju'd-Dín Túránsháh b. Zardastán died. Arjásf obtained permission to go to Alexandria (*sic*!) and raise an army wherewith to invade Gílán, but died there. King Ardashír made his cousin Hizibru'd-Dín Khurshíd commander-in-chief of his army, and made him governor of Ámul and viceroy of Rúyán. Hazárasp and his brother went to Hamadán to Sulṭán Ṭughril and the Atábek Muḥammad, and prayed these to intercede for them that they might be permitted to return home. The Atábek ʿIzzu'd-Dín was there-

[1] That is, I suppose, the Atábek Muḥammad the son of Ildúguz, to whose wise administration the prosperity of the first ten years of the reign of Ṭughril b. Arslán (reigned A. H. 573—590 = A. D. 1177—1194) was due, according to the historian of the Seljúqs, Najmu'd-Dín Abú Bakr Muḥammad ar-Ráwandí. See *J. R. A. S.* for 1902, p. 876.

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fore sent as an ambassador to Ámul to the king of Mázandarán, who, however, declined to overlook Hazárasp's previous misdeeds. Hazárasp was told that he must himself go to the king and seek to conciliate him:

هزاراسف‌را جواب باز دادند که ملازمت درگاه او باید کرد و رضای او جست پادشاه هزبر الدین خورشیدرا مدد فرستاده ابو بکر درازگوس‌را تا بدر دروازهٔ ری بدنبال بر داشته بدوانیدند و شاعری میگوید

ملك مازندران‌را چون توان کرد بببو بکری و ترکی چند عاجز
که کون هر یك از صد من ابریشم رفو نکنند صد مرد مطرز

(F. 170*b*). The following verses were also improvised on Hazárasp by other poets:

(بیت)

بزیر ران چو هزار اسپ‌را یك اسپ نماند
درازگوش طلب کرد و زو حمایت خواست

(رباعی)

شاهان بهوس مرکب تازی جویند خررا ز پی مزاح و بازی جویند
شاید که هزار اسپ پس از عمر دراز قوّت ز درازگوش رازی جویند

(رباعی)

هرگز رستم ز نیزه بازی رنجد یا رعد ز بانگ طبل بازی رنجد
شاهی که هزار اسپ انگیزد اوست هرگز ز دراز گوش رازی رنجد

(رباعی)

نه باغ و نه بوستان گزینم بی تو نه با می ودوستان نشینم بی تو
نوك مژه خار باد در دیدهٔ من گر هیچ گل جهان بچینم بی تو

He left a little son named Sanjar Sháh, born of Turkán Khátún, and one of Ṭughánsháh's retainers named Manklí-

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tukuz undertook to be his guardian, or Atábek. He put to death the Qáḍí Burhán, and on this a poet says:

جور تو ز جور آل مروان بیش است
برهان کشتن ز خون عثمان بیش است
انصاف بده که اشک مظلومانت
گر جمع شود زآب طوفان بیش است

Sháh Ardashír soon afterwards (f. 171*a*) hanged Manklitukuz for this deed. Sanjar Sháh and his mother carried off Qiwám ʿAlí and other notables to Khwárazm, and seized the king of Khurásán, Quṭbu'd-Dín Khán, who was his eldest son, and cut off his head, which he sent to the king at the Palace of Dawlatábád at Sárí, on which a poet says:

هر سر که به بر سر رضای تو بود
بی تن سر او چون سر زردستان باد

..... (f. 171) Verses on the untrustworthiness of women:

زن گر نه یکی هزار باشد در عهد کم استوار باشد
چون نقش وفا وعهد بستند بر نام زنان قلم شکستند
زن نیک بود ولی زمانی تا جز تو نیافت مهربانی
چون با دگری فرو نشیند خواهد که وجود تو نبیند
این کار زنان راست بازست افسون زنان بد درازست

Qizil Arslán was assassinated at Hamadán by four men, at the instigation of Záhida Khátún [1], who plucked the ring from his finger, gave it to the Atábek Abú Bakr, his nephew, and said, "Go, assume control of Arrán and Ádharbayján." This Abú Bakr did, and reigned in peace for twenty years.

[1] This took place in A. H. 587 (= A. D. 1191).

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At this time took place the accession and coronation of the Ispahbad Shamsu'l-Mulúk Rustam. Ruknu'd-Dawla Qárin, accompanied by the nobles of Ṭabaristán, came to make him their offerings at the castle of Dárá. The day fixed for the coronation was declared by the astrologers to be unlucky, but the Ispahbad paid no heed to their objections. The coronation festivities lasted seven days, according to the old Persian fashion, and included the usual feastings, rejoicings, and giving of presents, while the notables and Ispahbads and Báwands assembled from all the country-side. When (f. 172*a*) these congratulations were finished, on the eighth day the Ispahbad ascended the throne, and girded on the royal girdle, and confirmed the governors in their appointments, and caused the Ispahbads and Amírs to cast aside their mourning, and clad them in robes of honour.

Ruknu'd-Dawla Qárin was dissatisfied with the Ispahbad on account of the inheritance of his elder brother Sharafu'l-Mulúk, and appealed to the Sulṭán, who sent ᶜAlí Sháh, governor of Dámghán and Bisṭám, with some soldiers to bid the Ispahbad, first with gentleness, and, if this failed, with a show of force, to surrender Sharafu'l-Mulúk's inheritance to his brother Ruknu'd-Dawla. He also ordered the Amírs of Ray and Gurgán to help him in this. So ᶜAlí Sháh came by way of Fírúzkúh to Láriján, and encamped at Rúdbár-pích, and sent his brother-in-law on with a message by way of Mankúl; but the people of Shaláb waylaid him and killed him. There was a certain ᶜAlawí named Músá, who, before Tukush b. Il-Arslán became king [2], had fled from Khwárazm and taken refuge with king Ardashír, and had long been a source of trouble and sedition in Tammísha. He induced the Sulṭán to appoint him *wazír* to ᶜAlí Sháh,

[1] Till A. H. 607 (A. D. 1210). See S. Lane-Poole's *Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 171.

[2] i. e. King of Khwárazm, which he did in A. H. 568 (= A. D. 1172).

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whom he tried to persuade (f. 172*b*) to seize the Ispahbad and take from him the kingdom of Mázandarán. Failing in this attempt, he strove to provoke the Ispahbad against ʿAlí Shah, who sent his head to the Ispahbad, by whom it was paraded for three days in the market. His sons, who were at Ámul, were also arrested and imprisoned for some time in the castle of Kuhrúd. Peace was then concluded between the Ispahbad and ʿAlí Sháh, and the former restored to Ruknu'd-Dawla the estates of his elder brother Sharafu'l-Mulúk. Ruknu'd-Dawla then surrendered the castle of Kúzá to the Ispahbad's warden Afrásiyáb, and himself waited on the Ispahbad, who received him with all honour.

Shortly after this the Assassins (f. 173*a*) treacherously murdered Ruknu'd-Dawla, and obtained various signal successes. Shamsu'l-Mulúk had no son, but he gave his sister in marriage to the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Kínkhwár b. Rustam b. Dárá b. Shahriyár, who was "the Father of kings" (*Abu'l-Mulúk*). This sister bore a son named Kínkhwár, who was cousin on the father's side to king Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Ardashír b. Kínkhwár. Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Shahriyár lived in the reign of Maliksháh the Seljúq, who used to address him as his "father", as witnessed by the verse of the poet Ráfiʿí:

هم ملك خواند هم پدر سلطان عصرش در جهان
گر نداری باور از من نامهٔ سلطان نگر
بر جهان و بر بزرگان جهان تا روز حشر
شهریارِ قارنِ سرخاب را فرمان نگر

while in another verse he says:

خواند ملك از قدر ترا داور گیتی خواند پدر از فخر ترا خسرو عالم

At this period Sulṭán Jalálu'd-Dín Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh, taking advantage of the growing weakness and dis-

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ruption of House of Báwand, took possession of sundry castles and lands outside Tammísha, and garrisoned them with his own men. Abú Riḍá Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Abu 'l-'Alawí al-Mamṭírí, on Shawwál 21, A. H. 606 (= April 1, A. D. 1210) treacherously murdered Naṣíru'd-Dawla Shamsu'l-Mulúk. This caused further confusion and disorganization, and many of the nobles of Ṭabaristán submitted to Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh. But in a little while this dynasty in turn was brought to an end by the terrible Mongol Invasion (f. 173*b*). The destruction and devastation resulting therefrom included Ṭabaristán as well as other provinces of Persia, and for thirty years it was without a king or ruler, while the armies of destroying Mongols traversed it to and fro.

At last, after this period of anarchy, the people of Mázandarán and Ṭabaristán met in council at Sárí, and chose as their ruler Malik Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Ardashír b. Kínkhwár (or Kíkhwáz) b. Rustam b. Dárá b. Shahriyár, who for some time revived the glories of his ancient house and kingdom. But soon he too was overtaken by misfortune, even as Shamsu'l-Ma'álí Qábús b. Washmgír says in well-known verses:[1]

قُلْ لِلَّذِي بِصُرُوفِ ٱلدَّهْرِ عَيَّرَنِي هَلْ عَانَدَ ٱلدَّهْرُ إِلَّا مَنْ لَهُ خَطَرُ
أَمَا تَرَى ٱلْبَحْرَ يَعْلُو فَوْقَهُ جِيَفٌ وَ يَسْتَقِرُّ بِأَعْلَى قَعْرِهِ ٱلدُّرَرُ
وَ فِي ٱلسَّمَاءِ نُجُومٌ مَا لَهَا عَدَدٌ وَ لَيْسَ يُكْسَفُ إِلَّا ٱلشَّمْسُ وَٱلْقَمَرُ

(F. 174*a*)

On his accession, Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Ardashír transferred the capital from Sárí, which the House of Báwand had always hitherto made its metropolis, to Ámul, where he made his palace at Qará-Kaláta on the banks of the river Hurmuz. Once, says the author, when he was walking through it, he

[1] These verses are also cited at the end of the third volume of the *Yatímatu'd-Dahr* (Damascus edition, p. 290). I have translated them at p. 470 of my *Literary History of Persia*.

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read, amongst the paintings on the wall a long bilingual (*mulamma*ᶜ) *qaṣída* by Sirájuᵓd-Dín Qumrí, beginning as follows:

وَصَلَ ٱلْعَبْدُ إِلَى مَقْدَمِ كِسْرَى ٱلثَّانِي
مَلِكِ ٱلْعَادِلِ ذِي ٱلْعِزَّةِ وَٱلْبُرْهَانِ
بَاسِطِ ٱلْجُودِ عَلَى ٱلْكَاشِحِ وَٱلْخِلَّانِ
صَادِقِ ٱلْوَعْدِ فَلَا يَخْلُفُ كَٱلْخَوَّانِ
اردشیر آن شهِ پُر دل که گه بخشش وجنگ
نگذارد اثرِ هستی دریا و نهنگ
آنکه بپرام فلک روی سوی گور نهد
چون وی از کیش بر آرد بگه جنگ خدنگ

His father Kínkhwár (or Kíkhwáz) was the nephew of Sháh Ardashír b. al-Ḥasan, while he himself was the nephew of Jalálu'd-Dín Ḥasan b. ᶜAlá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad [Khwárazmsháh]. But in the year A. H. 647 (= A. D. 1249—1250) he died, having reigned fifteen years.

[*It is not clear at what point the record written by Ibn Isfandiyár ends, and the continuation supplied by another hand and carried down to A. D. 750 (= A. D. 1349—1350) begins, but it seems unlikely that Ibn Isfandiyár continued the history beyond this point*].

At this time Mangú Qá'án (the grandson of Chingíz Khán) sat on the Mongol throne. Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Ardashír was succeeded by his elder son Shamsu'l-Mulúk Muḥammad (f. 174*b*). Mangú Qá'án sent an army under the Amír Kat Búqá to subdue the castles and strongholds of the Assassins. Many of these he reduced, but Gird-i-Kúh, Alamút, Tún und Qá'in still held out. Mangú than sent his brother, the redoutable Húlágú, who first took Tún and Qá'in, and captured so many prisoners that Khurásán was filled with slaves.

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He then laid siege to Gird-i-Kúh and Alamút. Kiyá Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, entitled by his followers al-Qá'im bi-'amri'lláh, was at that time Grand Master of the Assassins, but he was killed by one of his sons, and his son Ruknu'd-Dín Khúrsháh (or Khwarsháh), who was but an inexperienced lad, succeeded him. The philosopher Naṣíru'd-Dín Ṭúsí, whom Kiyá Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan had forcibly detained and compelled to act as his *wazír*, while professing friendship for the heretics, was inwardly eager to compass their destruction, and when Ruknu'd-Dín Khúrsháh asked his advice as to how he should answer Húlágú Khán, he counselled him (f. 175*a*) not to give battle, for which the stars were not propitious, but to surrender Alamút, which he accordingly did. He was at once put in chains and sent off to Mangú Qá'án, who, however, on hearing what had been done, sent a messenger to meet him and put him to death. Alamút was destroyed, and its priceless treasures and library delivered to the flames. But Naṣíru'd-Dín Ṭúsí was treated with honour, and retained in Hulágú Khán's service.

Húlágú Khán now marched on Baghdad, [sacked the city and destroyed the last ʿAbbásid Caliph, al-Mustaʿṣim bi'lláh, as is well known]. As regards the remaining stronghold of the Assassins, Gird-i-Kúh, orders were issued to all the princes, potentates and nobles of the district to besiege it in turns; and after two or three years the turn came to the King and the Ustundár of Mázandarán. So the King of Mázandarán, Shamsu'l-Mulúk Muḥammad b. Ardashír, and the Ustundár, Shahrákím b. Namáwar, set out to conduct the siege; and a daughter of the latter had been betrothed to the former. It was spring, and there was in Rúyán (f. 175*b*) a poet named Quṭb-i-Rúyání who composed a *tarjíʿ-band* in the dialect of Ṭabaristán on the spring season and the hunting in Rúyán, as follows:

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داوا ورء[1] ورشی[2] چل شم ای شیم
و اپی کرد بناز و شکت و هار[3] دجیردیم[4]
کنی کرم[5] وادکت سرما وکالیم[6]
روباری اوهارش بای[7] ورفالیم[8]
میه شی[9] شنی ای سنبله خوری بیم
آهو سنبل[10] ور[11] بکرد زبله رازیم[12]
نرگس دهیت[13] جام زر در بودپات[14] سیم
دبیری[15] بیازریر بسیم[16] زری میم
و نوشه بناز هو[17] کرد سرو در و مه[18]
چادر بکهو کرد بکلون کرد جومه[19]

[The following additional verses are given only in B.]

ایلك و ویلك ها وشکت ای سکیلم
سناور بیا ای زکهٔ نلیرم
ویهی حال و شکوت جون و شکوی هتکم
روی سوی وشکوت بوجون سنبوره دم
فونیم وندی هازه سر بوشهٔ رم
شیم هازن آسا سر بدوله جم
کیلونه وا بینی دم دجاینی خور
هاییت وهشت سون دشت وکو و مسیر

[The following additional verses are omitted in A.]

[1] C. داواده. [2] C. ورشتی. [3] A. بیار. [4] A. بجردیم؟ B. هجیردیم C. هجیرویم. [5] B. کرمه. [6] B. دکالیم. [7] B. بای. [8] A. C. ورفیم. [9] C. میدشی. [10] B. سنبلی. [11] C. در. [12] C. زاریم. [13] C. دست B. دیست؟ [14] B. یودیات C. بودات. [15] A. دپری B. C. دپری. [16] C. نیازرسرسم A. نبازر درسه. [17] B. بنازوهو. [18] B. سروادروامه. [19] C. کرچومه.

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شکار کاهیکم خورم بورداری
ویری وند کاهیکم خوش بوکلاری
جتنه خور شکاری سگ شکار سالاری
..ی هیکم بری یوزه بباشکاری
کوهیکم جری تر لورا ولاری
آپنه لیال هیکم خوش بوسلاری
شه کین خشت هولار زتن هو[1] زماین
بینن انکشت هوکیل درکیب جاین

When Shamsu'l-Mulúk was killed, his brother ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla ʿAlí was made king, and he was aided by his brother-in-law the Ustundár Shahrákím, but a fresh inrush of Mongols reduced his power to nothing and filled the land with ruins. He died in A. H. 663 (= A. D. 1264—5), in the same year in which his brother had been killed, and the devastation of Rustamdár, Mázandarán and Rúyán took place at the same time.

(F. 176). Malik Táju'd-Dawla Yazdigird next succeeded, and in his time such order prevailed that a single officer, armed only with an axe, Ḥasan Qádí Kal by name, used, alone and on foot, to collect all the taxes of Mázandarán from Tammísha to Alísha-rúd, and bring them to the capital. Táju'd-Dawla maintained the most friendly relations with the Ustundár Sháh Ghází. He reigned 30 years, overcoming many difficulties in his relations with the Mongols, and died in A. H. 701 (= A. D. 1301—2). He left a son named Sikandar, who, however, died soon after him, and he was succeeded by another son named Naṣíru'd-Dawla Shahriyár. In his days there were still seventy flourishing colleges in Mázandarán.

[1] Or? سو.

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Shahriyár, following the example of his predecessors, allied himself by marriage with the Ustundár Sháh Kay-Khusraw. The Mongol dominion, however, left them but little power or security, and Shahriyár, after a reign of twelve years, died in A. H. 714 (= A. D. 1314—1315), and (f. 176*b*) was succeeded by his brother Malik Ruknu'd-Dawla Sháh Kay-Khusraw b. Táju'd-Dawla Yazdigird. At this juncture Amír Mú'min, Amíru'l-Umará, represented the Mongol government in Ṭabaristán, and between him and Ruknu'd-Dawla there was perpetual warfare. The latter entrusted his women and children to the care of the Ustundár Naṣíru'd-Dawla Shahriyár, who placed them at Íwájan in Kalá-Rustáq; but could not prevail against Amír Mú'min, who enjoyed the fullest confidence of the Mongol sovereign Úljáytú Sulṭán Muḥammad Khudá-banda, and who, having obtained authority to that effect from the Mongol camp (*urdú*), sent his son Amír Qutlugh Sháh to invade Mázandarán. Several battles took place between him on the one hand, and Shahriyár and the Ustundár on the other. One of the most celebrated of these battles, in which the latter were victorious, and many Turkish *amírs* and notables of Mázandarán who were with Qutlugh Sháh were killed, took place at Lít-Kúh on the road to Yásamín-Kaláta. At length Amír Mú'min himself invaded Mázandarán, and Sháh Kay-Khusraw, unable to withstand him (f. 177*b*), set out for the [Mongol] camp (*urdú*). By chance Amír Tálish Chúbán had been appointed Amír of Khurásán, and was proceeding thither. Kay-Khusraw met him, courted his favour, and promised to bring the Ustundár Naṣíru'd-Dawla Shahriyár to his presence. They journeyed on together to Ámul, and alighted in the Maydán-i-Rúdbár Báqalí-pazán. There Sháh Kay-Khusraw brought the Ustundár before Amír Tálish Chúbán, who treated them both with honour, and remained that winter at Ámul. Amír Mú'min's power was thus checked. Kay-Khusraw, fearing

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the Mongol Amírs, who were constantly going and coming, conveyed his women and children and baggage to the Ustundár, from whom he bought for them the village of Fímat near Ganjáwarúz, and there abode; and there his descendants dwell to this day. He died in A. H. 728 (= A. D. 1327—8).

He was succeeded by his son Sharafu'l-Mulúk, a handsome and well-dispositioned youth, whose accession was hailed with joy by all the notables of Mázandarán. His reign was peaceful and happy, but short, (f. 177*b*), for he died in A. H. 734 (= A. D. 1333—4).

He was succeeded by his brother Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla Ḥasan b. Sháh Kay-Khusraw, the last of the Báwand kings, whose accession was nearly contemporary with Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd's death [1]. This practically coincided with the end of the Mongol Power in Persia, which lasted about 80 years from the date of Húlágú Khán's capture of Baghdad in A. H. 656 (= A. D. 1258). The author speaks highly of the order and good government which prevailed during this period, especially during the reigns of Gházán Khán, Úljáytú Khudábanda, and Abú Sa'íd, which, says he, one might think that the poet Dhahír-i-Fáryábí was describing when he said:

آرام یافت در حرم امن وحش و طیر
آسوده گشت در کنف عدل انس و جان
گردون فرو گشاده میان از جفای تیغ
(f. 178*a*) ایّام بر گشوده ز از گردن کمان
ملکی چنین مسخّر و حکمی چنین مطاع
دیرست تا نداد فلک از کسی نشان

On Abú Sa'íd's death anarchy supervened, each *amír* striving

[1] He died in A. H. 736 (= A. D. 1335—6).

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to seize what he could for himself out of the general wreckage. Amongst those who thus rose to power was Amír Masʿúd Sarbadál [or *Sar-ba-dár*), who rose up in Sabzawár, killed his brother Pahlawán ʿAbdu'r-Razzáq, gathered round himself a number of rogues and vagabonds, and established himself in a citadel which he made for himself in Sabzawár. Tughá-Tímúr was nominally Sulṭán of Khurásán, but his *wazír*, ʿAlá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad, had practically (f. 178*b*) got possession of all the power, and used it most oppressively. His tyranny, and that of a tribe of Turks called Jataz, reduced the people of Khurásán to desperation. The disaffected joined themselves to Amír Masʿúd Sarbadál, whose power thus rapidly increased, so that he defeated many of the Mongol and Turkish *amírs*, and even Arghún-Sháh and his brothers, until he finally held possession of Khurásán from Jám and Bákharz to Mázandarán. His popularity largely depended on the fact that all spoils of war were equitably shared by him with his followers, and that he in no way distinguished himself from them.

He now marched on Herát and attacked Malik Muʿínu'd-Dín Ḥusayn-i-Kart. The battle lasted three days and nights, and 7000 men are said to have perished in it, including Amír Masʿúd's spiritual director Shaykh Ḥasan Júrí; and Amír Masʿúd was finally defeated and fell back on Mázandarán. At Bayárú-kamand he had another battle with Tughá-Tímúr, whose brother, Shaykh ʿAlí Káwán, he killed. He defeated Tughá-Tímúr and took captive Píshín Khátún and other ladies of his house (f. 179*a*), and pursued, captured and put to death his *wazír* ʿAlá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad at Qalʿa Kamín. Tughá-Tímúr fled from him to Lár and Qaṣrán, where he was re-inforced by Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla and the Ustundár.

Amír Masʿúd soon succeeded in re-establishing his power in Khurásán, which, from Herát to Gurgán and Qúmish, fell

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under his sway, and he placed his governors in each important town. He then came to Astarábád, intending to subjugate Ṭabaristán, and sought by all means to win over to him its kings and rulers. Kiyá Jamálu'd-Dín Aḥmad Jál, a powerful, sagacious and experienced noble, obtained permission from the King of Mázandarán to go with his nephews Kiyá Táju'd-Dín and Kiyá Jalál, to Astarábád, and try to come to terms with Amír Mas'úd, who received them well, but forced them to accompany him on his onward march to Sárí, whence he sent to the kings at Ámul (f. 179*b*) desiring to see them. After prolonged consultation, Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla of Mázandarán and Malik Jalálu'd-Dawla Iskandar the Ustundár determined to resist Amír Mas'úd by force, and sent him a harsh answer. Thereupon, leaving some of his men at Sárí, Amír Mas'úd marched on Ámul. The two armies met outside Ámul on Dhu'l-Qa'da 17, A. H. 743 (= April 13, A. D. 1343), in the plain of Búrán, where the Mázandaránís had constructed at Qará-Kaláta by their King's Palace a temporary stockade, which they prepared to defend with the utmost stubbornness. Jamálu'd-Dín Aḥmad Jál, seeing that battle was inevitable, and that Amír Mas'úd would not hearken to his advice (f. 180*a*), sent repeated and urgent messages to his friends and kinsmen to "defend the honour of Mázandarán", and not to concern themselves about his possible fate; "for," said he, "I am an old man, who have lived my life: if I perish and Mázandarán continue in honour it is better than that ye should submit to subjection and abasement." The Mázandaránís responded to this heroic advice, and all, from Tammísha to the frontiers of Gílán, forgetting their private quarrels and jealousies, presented a united face to the foe. Amír Mas'úd, alarmed at their firmness, requested Kiyá Jamálu'd-Dín Aḥmad Jál and his nephews to extricate him from Ámul (f. 180*b*). Amír 'Alí Hawákhún (? Mawákhún) deserted him for the Mázandaránis, which added

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to his alarm, and he gave Kiyá Aḥmad Jál five *kharwárs* of *dirhams* to guide him out of the country. The Kiyá sent this money to his kinsmen, and bade them construct earth-works from the river Hurmuz to Sárí and close the roads. After ten days' sojourn in Ámul, Amír Masʿúd quitted it with his army. At Yásamín-Kaláta, one parasang's distance from the city, he was confronted by the Ustundár Jalálu'd-Dawla, while the soldiers of Mázandarán attacked him in the rear. Masʿúd, seeing that he was out-manœuvred, killed Kiyá Jamálu'd-Dín Aḥmad Jál and his nephews, and fled towards Láwích, making for the mountains. The woods and thickets which he was compelled to traverse were swarming with his foes, while the Kings closely pursued him, and one vast battle raged from Yásamín-Kaláta to Rúdbár-i-Núr; until the Khurásánís, after sustaining heavy losses, were finally completely disorganized and scattered:

جمع آمده بودند چو پرویـن یکچند
گردون چو بنـات نعششان بپراگند

Finally (f. 181*a*), after two days' flight, Amír Masʿúd, with a few of his followers, reached the mountains by way of Rúdbár-Bálú, and began to ascend. The path was barred by the scouts of Taju'd-Dawla, the Ustundár's brother, Malik-i-Muʿadhdham Sharafu'd-Dawla Gustahm, and he was forced to turn back by way of Rúdbár-Uz; but, losing his way, was taken captive.

Amír Masʿúd, wounded and captive, was brought before Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla, who asked him as to the original size of his army. He answered that provision had been made for 4000 horses, 600 mules and 400 camels, from which could he deduced the size of the army. He was then sent on to the Ustundár Jalálu'd-Dawla, who, after two days' consideration, put him to death. His body was buried on the road to Kálíjar under a mill on the east side of the stream.

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صاحب نظری کجاست تا در نگرد
تا این همه مملکت بدان می ارزید

(F. 181*b*). His head was cut off, stuffed with straw, and exhibited to all men at the very place where he had, a few days before, encamped with so great and well-equipped an army.

غرّه مشو گر ز چرخ کار تو گردد بلند
ز آنکه بلندی دهد تا بتواند فگند

(رباعی)

عمری بمراد رانده گیر آخر چه وین نامهٔ عمر خوانده گیر آخر چه
گیرم که بکام دل بمانی صد سال صد سال دگر بمانده گیر آخر چه

(بیت)

اگر پادشاهست ور پینه‌دوز چو خفتند گردد شب هر دو روز

(F. 182*a*). (قطعه)

دل در جهان مبند که باریست بی وفا
جامیست بی شراب و شرابیست بی صفا
نوشش مچش که زهر افاعیست در عقب
خمرش مخور که رنج خمارست در قفا
راه امل مپوی که اَلدَّارُ قَدْ خَلَتْ
رسم طلل مجوی که اَلرَّبْعُ قَدْ عَفَا

The people of Ṭabaristán, except the learned and religious classes, used to wear their hair long and hanging loose — sometimes as much as a yard (*gaz*) in length; but, some days after the execution of Amír Masʿúd-i-Sarbadál, Malik Jalálu'd-Dawla, seeing that his late foe had his hair shaved, adopted the same practice, together with the wearing of the turban, and first his own kinsmen, and then the rest

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of the people, imitated him, so that the new fashion became general, and the long locks, called *kalálak*, and the head-dress called *kalá-band*, were finally abandoned.

It has been already described how, in the reign of Malik Ruknu'd-Dawla Sháh Kay-Khusraw, Amír Mú'min and his son Qutlugh-Sháh caused dissension in Mázandarán which led to great disorganization, and how Malik Shamsu'l-Mulúk Muḥammad treacherously slew his brother ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla ʿAlí, and assumed the reins of government[1]. Malik Ruknu'd-Dawla Sháh Kay-Khusraw went to the [Mongol] camp (*urdú*) and brought back an order for the dismissal of Malik Shamsu'l-Mulúk, who retired to Gílán for a while, but was presently summoned thence by Ruknu'd-Dawla, who, at the advice of Amír Qutlugh Sháh, put him to death, together with his brother Malik Ardashír and ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla ʿAlí (f. 182*b*) in the summer-palace of Ardáshír-ábád.

Thus Malik Sháh Kay-Khusraw, being left alone, was weakened, and Qutlugh Sháh strengthened; and the former, gradually pushed back, conveyed his family and possessions to the domain of the Ustundár, whose people helped and supported him. There his sons, and those of Sharafu'l-Mulúk, Fakhru'd-Dawla, and the other brothers, grew up, honoured and treated in every way like the princes of Ustundár; until, moved by false suspicions, he put to death Kiyá Jalál b. Aḥmad Jál, which caused universal disgust and consternation amongst the nobles who had hitherto supported him, save the rival Kiyás of Chaláp, with whom he was now compelled to ally himself. Of these, Kiyá Afrásiyáb of Chaláp was his principal ally.

In Mázandarán, thus distracted, there now appeared the dervish orders, *pírs*, and *murids*, which had already appeared in Khurásán. Afrásiyáb (f. 183*a*) and his kinsmen became

[1] This statement cannot he reconciled with that on p. 261 *supra*, ll. 9—10, but the meaning of the text seems clear in both passages

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enthusiastic for this doctrine, and desired to persuade Malik Sháh Kay-Khusraw to it. The Kiyás of Jalál attached themselves to the chief Ustundár, Malik Jalálu'd-Dawla Iskandar. Malik-i-Mu'adhdham marched on Ámul and ravaged the surrounding territory. Fakhru'd-Dawla came with two or three thousand men to the camp of the king of Ustundár to sue for peace, which was granted; and the united forces then expelled the Kiyás of Chaláp from Ámul. These allied themselves with their former foes, the Kiyás of Jalál. The king of Mázandarán tried to regain their confidence, but could not overcome their mistrust. Amír Sayyid Qiwámu'd-Dín, whom the Kiyás of Chaláp regarded as their saint and spiritual director, disliked Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla on account of his real or supposed heretical tendencies. Finally on Muḥarram 27, A. H. 750 (= April 17, A. D. 1349) Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla was treacherously murdered in the bath at Ámul by 'Alí Kiyá b. Afrásiyáb and his brother Muḥammad Kiyá (F. 183*b*). His family, having no other place of safety, again took refuge with the supreme Ustundár Jalálu'd-Dawla Iskandar, who received them with all hospitality and kindness.

Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla left four sons, all of tender years, Malik Sharafu'l-Mulúk, Sháh Ghází, and Malik Ká'ús [1], of whom the eldest was but ten years of age. Malik Jalálu'd-Dawla not only protected and cared for them while they were young, but when they were grown up he undertook several campaigns with a view to restoring them to their kingdom. On one occasion he attacked Kiyá Afrásiyáb, the Kiyás of Jalál and Sayyid Qiwámu d-Dín at Marán-Dih near Ámul (f. 184*a*), and killed the former, but finally, with his men of Rustamdár, was out-numbered and driven back by the Mázandaránís. In this battle 330 of the men of Rustamdár were slain, and it was the last attempt of the kings of Báwand

[1] The name of one son is evidently omitted.

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to assert their power, which had endured in Mázandarán for 705 years; for the founder of the Dynasty, Báw-i-Sháp̣úr, established his independence in A. H. 45 (= A. D. 665—6), while the last of them, Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla Ḥasan, was killed, as above stated, in A. H. 750 (= A. D. 1349).

Colophon of India Office Manuscript.

تمّت فی شهور سنه ۱۰۳۲ کتبه العبد الحجانی

همّت بن رستم نلی المازندرانی

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NOTES.

(*The following notes by Mr. A. G. Ellis of the British Museum comprise such observations as he was kind enough to send me on the proofs which I submitted to him, and which could not be incorporated in the text either as corrections or foot-notes.*)

P. 9. "The setting of this anecdote is quíte historical, for the three persons concerned were all contemporaries. You will find a notice of ʿAbduʾl-Malik b. Qurayb al-Aṣmaʿí in De Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikán, vol. II, p. 123, and of al-ʿAttábí in the *Fihrist* of al-Warráq, vol. I, p. 121. See also De Slane, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 466 and vol. III, p. 99."

"With regard to the Shíʿa "*rijál*" (notable men) all the authorities that I quoted contain much the same matter; but I could not tell which of them might be accessible to you. Of -Najáshí, I think, no MS. is at present recorded in Europe. I have a Bombay lithograph, which can easily be procured. The *Fihrist* of -Ṭúsí (contemporary with -Najáshí) you have in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. Concerning -Astarábádí and his *Manhajuʾl-Maqál*, see Rieu's *Arabic Supplement*, N° 635. I have a Persian lithograph of the book. The *Muntahaʾl-Maqál* of Muḥammad b. Ismaʿíl al-Ḥáʾirí is a quite recent work, compiled from all accessible older authorities, and extremely useful, though somewhat condensed. Of this also I have a Persian lithograph. Another book of which I possess a Bombay edition is the *Ikhtiyár* of Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Kashshí (see Rieu's *Arabic Sup-*

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plement, N° 833). It often contains useful information, but is not very easy of reference. I have also a Persian edition of the *Naqdu'r-Rijál* of at-Tafríshí (Rieu's *Arabic Supplement,* N° 636); but it is rather meager, and does not add much to the contents of the first-named works."

"In the following notes I have quoted several times from a book which you may perhaps know, namely *'Umdatu'ṭ-ṭálib fí ansábi Áli Abí Ṭálib* ("the Student's Mainstay for the [verification of the] genealogies of the House of Abú Ṭálib"). It was composed in Arabic under the Amír Tímúr by Ibn 'Utba ('Uqba, 'Inaba) Jamálu'd-Dín Aḥmad b. 'Alí, who died in A. H. 828 (= A. D. 1424—5)."

P. 19. "Concerning Ḥasan b. Yaḥyá al-'Alawí, called *Kúchak,* see *'Umdatu't-Ṭálib,* p. 68."

P. 32. "'Abdu'r-Raḥmán b. Khúrzád, author of a *Kitábu'l-Masálik wa'l-Mamálik* is cited. May not this be intended for Ibn Khurdádhbih? It is true the last is usually called 'Ubaydu'lláh. Still there is some slight uncertainty with regard to his name, and we know next to nothing about the man. The remark about the excellence of Samarqand will be found on p. 172 of De Goeje's edition of his book, together with the saying of ar-Raqqáshí with some variation. On p. 171 of the same edition Ibn Khurdádhbih says of Ṭabaristán that it is احسن الأرض مفروقة. De Goeje omits these words in his translation, and gives no explanation. In his critical notes he says that al-Muqaddasí has معروفه in place of مفروقه. Al-Muqaddasí says that he got this rhyming notice from a book which he found in the library of 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla, and adds — وزِدْتُ فيه ما لا يَجِبُ تَرْكُهُ. 'Abdulláh b. Khurdádhbih, the father of 'Ubaydu'lláh, was, I may mention, according to -Ṭabarí (Series III, pp. 1014—1015) governor (*wálí*) of Ṭabaristán."

Ibid. "Ḥusayn b. Mundhir ar-Raqqáshí was the Imám

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ʿAlí's standard-bearer and an Anṣárí. There are brief notices of him in the *Manhaju'l-Maqál*, p. 118, and the *Muntaha'l-Maqál*, p. 115. There is nothing to show how he came to know anything about either Samarqand or Ṭabaristán. He may, however, have been a Persian, as his *kunya* is Abú Sásán."

P. 36. "Concerning 'the son of Amír Ká', compare *ʿUmdatu'ṭ-Ṭálib*, pp. 71, 72, where Amír Ká appears as —

الحسين امير كا القُمّى الملقب بشكنبه بن على بن محمّد المعروف بابن عُليّة

a descendant from Ismaʿíl Jálibu'l-Ḥijára by eight generations."

P. 37. "'A Jew named Shamʿún (Simon)'. Or. 7633 has شمعون بن خداداد. This suggests a reminiscence of the Jewish Maccabean hero Shimʿon ben Mattathyah. Mattathyah = Gift of God = Khudádád."

P. 39. "In the *Akhbár-i-Barmakiyán* of Ḍiyá'u'd-Dín Baraní (Bombay ed., pp. 6—7) allusion is made to this talisman. Baraní, however, speaks of it as an armlet, and does not mention its origin. The anecdote connected with the ring is as follows. The courtiers introduced Barmak into the presence of ʿAbdu'l-Malik, who, as soon as he saw him, ordered him to be severely beaten and thrust out. Afterwards the courtiers prayed the Caliph to make known to them Barmak's offence. ʿAbdu'l-Malik replied that Barmak carried poison upon his person, and that upon his own arm were two jewels which, whenever anyone should come before him having poison upon him, would be attracted towards one another. When Barmak entered, these two jewels were so strongly drawn together as to cause pain to the Caliph's arm. Angered at this, ʿAbdu'l-Malik ordered Barmak to be chastised."

P. 47. "May not 'Abu'l-ʿAmr' perhaps be the same person as ابو معمر بن ابى سعيد الاسمعيلى (*Yatímatu'd-Dahr*, Damascus ed., vol. III, p. 274) and الاستاذ ابو المعمر يعمر بن الحسين

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بن المظفّر (*Dumyatu'l-Qaṣr*, Add. 9994, f. 80*b*)? Unfortunately, all that we seem to know about these three names is that they all belonged to the same part of Persia."

Ibid. "There is a biographical notice of Muḥammad b. Zayd at pp. 71 *et seqq.* of the *ᶜUmdatu'ṭ-ṭálib*."

Ibid. "By 'Ṭabáṭabá al-ᶜAlawí' must be meant Abú ᶜAbdi'lláh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ṭabáṭába al-Ḥasaní, one of the chief authorities of the author of the *ᶜUmdatu'ṭ-ṭálib* for the pedigrees of the earlier Sayyids. He was the Shaykh of Abu'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlí b. Muḥammad al-ᶜUmarí, another of Ibn ᶜUtba's authorities, who was in al-Mawṣil in A. H. 423 = A. D. 1032 (*ᶜUmda*, p. 364) and in Ámid in A. H. 430 = A. D. 1038—9 (*Ibid.*, p. 60). For Ibráhím Ṭabáṭabá, the genealogist's ancestor, see *ᶜUmda*, p. 158."

P. 50 (also p. 46). "'*As-Sarwí*'. As-Samᶜání (*Ansáb*, Add. 23,355, f. 297*b*, gives سَرْوِی from سَرْو in the district of Ardabíl, but سَرَوِی from سارِیَة in Mázandarán. Unfortunately he does not mention anyone derived from the last named place."

Pp. 50 and 55. "Ibnu'l-Mahdí al-Mámṭírí and Sayyid Imám Bahá'u'd-Dín al-Ḥasan b. Mahdí al-Mamṭírí are, I suppose, the same person."

P. 52. "The ascription of the authorship of the *Kitábu'l-Faraj baᶜda'sh-Shidda* to Qáḍí Abu'l-Qásim at-Tanúkhí is an error. The real author was his son Muḥassin b. ᶜAlí, as is clearly shewn by various allusions in the book itself."

P. 54. "Abu'l-Faraj ᶜAlí b. al-Ḥusayn must be the poet Ibn Hindú. He was a native of Ray, and one of the *Kuttábu'l-Inshá* of ᶜAḍudu'd-Dawla the Buwayhid. He was in Jurján about A. H. 410 = A. D. 1019—1020 (aṣ-Ṣafadí's *Wáfí bi'l-Wafayát*), and died in A. H. 420 = A. D. 1029 (Ḥájji Khalífa, vol. III, p. 252; vol. VI, p, 15)."

P. 59. "Concerning Zarrín Kamar, see the *ᶜUmdatu'ṭ-ṭálib*,

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p. 68, where he appears as الحسن الملقّب بزرين كمر بن علي, a direct descendant of ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán ash-Shajarí."

Ibid. "ʿImádí is, I suppose, identical with the homonymous contemporary of Saná'í of Ghazna mentioned by Dawlatsháh, p. 98, and noticed by ʿAwfí in vol. II of the *Lubáb*, pp. 257 *et seqq.* The author of the *Majmaʿu'l-Fuṣaḥá*, vol. I, p. 350, calls him ʿImádí Shahriyárí, and says that he composed poems in praise of ʿImádu'd-Dawla ad-Daylamí and Ṭughril Beg the Seljúq. He admits, however, that some critics say that there are more ʿImádís than one. Taqiyyu'd-Dín Káshání in his *Khuláṣatu'l-Ashʿár*, (Or. 3506, ff. 449*b*—452*a*) has a long notice of ʿImádí. He distinguishes two poets of this name, ʿImádí-i-Ghaznawí and ʿImádí-i-Shahriyárí. The latter was a native of Shahriyár, one of the dependencies of Ray, and resided in the last-named city. In the latter part of his life he was attached to the court of Ṭughril b. Arslán. He died in his native place in A. H. 573 (= 1177—8)."

Sheet 9 (pp. 129—144). Owing to the vagaries of the Post Office, this sheet was printed off before the corrections indicated by Mr. Ellis had been made. These, therefore, are included with the longer notes in this place.

P. 129, l. 26. For "whom" read "whose". "ʿ*Abú Jaysh al-Hiláli.* Properly this *kunya* should be *Abu'l-Jaysh*, not *Abú Jaysh*, but perhaps in a Persian MS. the absence of the article may not be significant. Otherwise I had thought of ابو حَنَش عصم بن النعمان, who was a Badawí poet of the reign of al-Mahdí, and a friend of Bashshár b. Burd (died A. H. 167 or 168 = A. D. 783—4 or 784—5). See the *Kitábu'l-Aghání*, vol. III, p. 60, vol. XI, p. 65, vol. XVIII, pp. 74—75. I have not, however, discovered his tribal *nisba*, and there does not appear to be any evidence of his ever having been in Ṭabaristán. Add. 7633 has distinctly ابو جيبش.

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Pp. 130—131 (and also pp. 120, 124 and 125 *supra*). "For *ᶜAmr b. ᶜAlá* read *ᶜUmar b. al-ᶜAlá*. So Ṭabarí, Series III, pp. 136, 137, 493, 500, 520, and 521, and Add. 7633."

P. 130, l. 26 "The story to which reference is here made is given in brief in the *Muraṣṣaᶜ* of Ibnu'l-Athír, ed. Seybold, 1896, p. 184."

P. 132, ll. 16—23. "Either the India Office MS. or yourself has jumped a few lines. I have inserted a translation of these in their place on the proof, and enclose herewith a copy of the passage from Add. 7633." (The lines in question are, I find, actually omitted in the India Office MS. The amended translation runs as follows. "Next came Saᶜíd b. Salm (so Ṭabarí) b. Qutayba b. Muslim, who was replaced after six months by Ḥammál and ᶜAbdu'lláh, the sons of ᶜAbdu'l-ᶜAzíz. Ten months later, in A. H. 177, these were superseded by Muthanná b. al-Ḥajjáj, who ruled for a year and four months, and was followed in A. H. 179 by ᶜAbdu'l-Malik b. Qaᶜqaᶜ, who remained one year..." "For *Házim*, Add. 7633, supported by Ṭabarí, has *Kházim*."

Pp. 134 and 136. "Both these alternative motives for the destruction of the Barmecides are recorded by Ṭabarí (series III, pp. 669 *et seqq.* and pp. 676 *et seqq.*)."

Pp. 134, l. 16. "By *-Nawfalí* ᶜAlí b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymán an-Nawfalí is probably intended. See De Goeje's Index to Ṭabarí, p. 400."

P. 140, l. 30. "Add. 7633 has Khalífa b. *Saᶜd* here, as well as in l. 19 above."

Ibid. "For *Mihrúya*, De Goeje (Ṭabarí, Series III, pp. 650 *et seqq.*) has *Mahruwayh*."

P. 141, l. 12. "*Farishí* should at least be *Furayshí*, but *Furashí* is the older and better form, and is the actual reading of Add. 7633. This *nisba* is thus vocalized by as-Samᶜání (Add. 23,355, f. 127*a*), who derives it from Juraysh, a Ḥimyarite tribe. Ṭabarí (Series III, pp. 650 *et seqq.*) has *al-Ḥarashí*."

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Ibid., l. 28. "Read *Zufar* for *Zafr*; and in l. 29 read *ʿAmira* for *ʿUmayra*, which is always a woman's name."

P. 142, ll. 22, 25, 28. "Read *Nuʿaym b. Kházim* for *Naʿím b. Ḥázim*."

P. 144, l. 12. "Through" is, of course, a misprint for "though".

P. 147, l. 2. Correct, as above on p. 141, *Jurayshí* to *Jurashí*.

Ibid. ll. 5—6. "For Bizíst-i-Fírúzán = Yaḥyá b. Abí Manṣúr, see *Fihrist*, p. 275, al-Qiftí's *Taʾríkhuʾl-Ḥukamá*, pp. 357—359. He died in A. H. 215 or 217 (= A. D. 830 or 832): see Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, N° 14.

P. 174, 6. The text has Tarchí for Tarícha, but the emendation, suggested by Mr. Ellis, seems pretty certain.

P. 180, l. 4. "Here, as on the previous page, A. wrongly reads *al-Mustaʿín* for *al-Muʿtazz*, which latter is not only required by history, but is in every case the actual reading of A. Ṭabarí gives the name of this Caliph as Muḥammad, but in the *Mafátiḥuʾl-ʿUlúm* of al-Khwárazmí and in the Wáfí of aṣ-Ṣafadí (Add. 23,858, f. 112*a*) he is called Zubayr."

P. 187, ll. 14—15. "Abuʾl-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was a Shajarí Sayyid, a descendant of a different line from Sayyid Ḥasan's. See *ʿUmdatuʾṭ-ṭálib*, p. 71, l. 18, where his relationship to Sayyid Ḥasan is expressed by ختنه على أُخْته. This must, I think, imply 'brother-in-law'. The word ختن may be used of any relation through a woman, according to the lexica."

P. 190, l. 2. "Compare -Ṭabarí, Series III, pp. 2039—2201."

P. 191, ll. 14—15. "Compare -Ṭabarí, Series III, pp. 1929—2159."

P. 193. "'*Martyrdom of Sayyid Muḥammad*'. Abuʾl-Farajuʾl-Iṣbahání, the author of the *Kitábuʾl-Aghání*, gives, in his Maqátiluʾṭ-Ṭálibiyyín (Ṭihrán, A. H. 1307, p. 229), rather a

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different account of the death of Muḥammad b. Zayd. He relates that Ismaʿíl b. Aḥmad, who had made himself master of Khurásán, sent against him one of his officers named Muḥammad b. Hárún with orders to attack him. An engagement took place at Báb Jurján in which the Sayyid was mortally wounded. After the battle he was found on the field still breathing, and was carried to Jurján, where he died. His funeral obsequies were performed by his adversary Muḥammad b. Hárún. These events took place in Ramaḍán, A. H. 289 (*sic*). Sayyid Muḥammad's son Zayd was taken prisoner in the battle, and brought to Jurján, where he still is at the present time,' i. e. A. H. 313 (= A. D. 925—6). Abu'l-Faraj was born in A. H. 284 (= A. D. 897), five (or three) years before the above mentioned battle was fought."

P. 194, l. 15. "This *Shajara-i-ansáb-i-Ṭalibiyya* is most probably identical with the *Ansábu ashráfi'l-amṣár* of Ibn Ṭabáṭabá, already mentioned on p. 47, l. 8."

P. 195, ll. 17—18. "Add. 7633 (= B.) has ابرهيم ومحمّد ابناء المضا الفقهان. The vocalization and meaning of المضا are obscure. The dictionaries do not give much help. مضاة is one of the nomina verbi of مَضَى, and has amongst other meanings that of 'carrying an enterprise to its conclusion'. I would suggest that a derivative مَضَّاة should be read, but unfortunately no such form is recorded in the lexica. فقهان must, I think, be an error for فقهاء [this last is the reading of A.], for no such form as فُقْهان, although quite possible, is recorded."

P. 198, end. "The person usually known by the title of *Dhu'r-Riyásatayn* was the famous *wazír* of the Caliphate al-Faḍl b. Sahl. As, however, he was murdered at Sarakhs in A. H. 202 (= A. D. 817—818), he can hardly be the

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person intended here, unless 'grandson' could be substituted for 'son'."

P. 199, l. 25. "Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdu'lláh al-Balᶜamí was the father of the Persian translator of -Ṭabarí, and died in A. H. 329 (= A. D. 940—941). See -Samᶜání's *Ansáb*, Add. 23,355, f. 90."

P. 210, ll. 5—6. "The addition in parentheses (which is found in B.) seems necessary, otherwise the personality of Díkú on p. 216 is rather enigmatical."

P. 210, l. 18. "'The Sayyids' governor'. He was appointed by ناصران; *i. e.* the family of an-Náṣiru'l-Kabír, not by Sayyid Ḥasan."

P. 215, 14. "Mánkdím was a descendant of Zaynu'l-ᶜAbidín, not of ᶜAqíl b. Abí Ṭálib."

P. 219, ll. 24 *et seqq.* "The news was brought to Ḥasan b. Fírúzán at Sárí, not to Washmgír at Ámul."

P. 227, ll. 3—4. "Add. 7310, f. 8, vocalizes the name of Sulṭán Maḥmúd's father سُبُكْتِكِين 'Subuktigín', not 'Sabuktagín'."

P. 229, l. 5 and note. As regards the vocalization *Ḥummúla* adopted by the Delhi edition, Mr. Ellis remarks that if the name be Arabic, as it appears to be, such vocalization is inadmissible, as giving no meaning. The same edition incorrectly gives this person's full name as *Abu'l-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ḥummúla*, ᶜAlí having dropped out after Abú.

P. 229, l. 8. "As to the name *Asfár b. Kurdúya* the texts of the Yamíní vary. Add. 7310 reads سار; the Delhi ed. has شار; Or. 1513 and the Buláq ed. concur in reading شابور.

P. 229, l. 10. "The *Yamíní* adds after the name Rashámúj the words ابن أُخت عظيم الديلم. See Delhi ed., p. ٣٣.; Buláq ed., vol. II, p. ٢; Add. 7310, f. 112*a*. The MS. Or. 1513, f. 108*a*, has incorrectly شاموج for رشاموج."

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P. 245, l. 29. "Add. 7633 (= B.) reads شيرد زيل. I take *Shirzil* (or *Shira-zil*) to be a clan name. Compare Ḥamza (*Ta'rikh*, pp. 241—2), who mentions the *Shírdhiláwandán* as the tribe or clan (قبيلة) of ʿAlí b. Buwayh, and the *Wardadáwandán* as that of Asfár b. Shírawayh (Shírú'è), both these leaders being 'Daylamí', as opposed to Mardáwíj, who was a 'Jílí'. Also *Shírzílwand* are named in the original Persian of Ibn Isfandiyár as forming part of the 400 prisoners burnt by the Ispahbad."

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This Index includes, besides a few general references to matters of special interest, (1) names of persons, (2) names of places, and (3) titles of books mentioned in the preceding pages. In the arrangement of the Muḥammadan names, the prefixes *Abú* ("Father of ...") and *Ibn* ("Son of ...") are disregarded, so that, for example, the names *Abu'l-Faḍl* and *Ibn Khurdádhbih* must be sought under the letters F and K respectively, not under A and I. Between two names the word *Ibn* („Son of ...") is represented by *b.*, but in the case of Persian names, the Persian *iḍáfat* (*-i-*) is sometimes employed to indicate the same relation: *e.g.* *ʿAbdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir* and *Qárin-i-Shahriyár*. A hyphen prefixed to a name (generally a *nisba*) means that the Arabic definite article *al-* should precede it: *e.g.* *Hárún-Rashíd* = Hárún al-Rashíd, or, according to the phonetic transcription which I adopt, Hárúnu'r-Rashíd. Each name is written in full the first time it occurs, but some of the commonest names are occasionally abbreviated as follows: *A.* = Aḥmad; *Ibr.* = Ibrahím; *Ism.* = Ismaʿíl; *H* = Ḥasan; *Hus.* = Ḥusayn; *ʿAb.* = ʿAbbás; *ʿAl.* = Abdu'lláh; *ʿA.* = ʿAlí; *ʿU.* = ʿUmar; *Q.* = Qásim; *M.* = Muḥammad; *Ya.* = Yaḥyá. Persian names I have thought it best always to write in full. Place-names are distinguished by an asterisk, while titles of books are printed in italics. In the case of names of little-known places in Ṭabaristán, where the vocalization is often extremely uncertain, I occasionally refer to Melgunof's *Das südliche Ufer des kaspischen Meeres* (Leipzig, 1868) as "*Mel.*", and to Dorn's four volumes of *Muhammedanische Quellen zur Geschichte der südlichen Küstenländer des kaspischen Meeres* as "*Dorn I*", "*Dorn II*", etc. To facilitate identification, I have occasionally indicated in brackets after a name the century of the Christian era in which the owner flourished, or, in the case of place-names, the district in which the place is apparently situated. When it is desired to indicate in which half of a century a person flourished, a small (1) or (2) is added to the Roman figure: thus (IX^{2}) means the latter half of the ninth century of our era.

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Ḥ. b. Zayd b. Ismaᶜíl "Jálibu'l-Ḥijára" (IX[2]), 47, 161—187, 189, 200, 205.
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*Hirhiz (river), 25, 194, l. 5, 247, 257, 266. (In the last three places the text has "Hurmuz", but I have no doubt that هرمز is a mistake for هرهز. This river runs by the E. side of Ámul. See Mel., 200, *etc.*, and *s. v.* "*Heraz*" in his Index).

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*Hurmuz (river), 194, l. 5, 247, 257, 266. See *Hirhiz*, for which in all these passages I now believe Hurmuz to be a scribe's error.

Ḥusámu'd-Dawla. See *Ardashír b. Ḥasan.*

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Ḥus. b. ᶜAlí of Sarakhs (IX), 167.
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Ḥus. b. Ḥamza -Laythí, 12 and *ad calc.*
Ḥus. b. Hárún, Sayyid —, 50.
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ᶜImádí (the poet, XII¹), 59.
ᶜImádu'd-Dawla ᶜAlí b. Buwayh (X¹), 208, 210.
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ᶜImrán -Ḥiṭṭán (Khárijite, VII), 103, 104.
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-Iskáfí (scribe, X¹), 219 *ad calc.*
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(Translations of the three Inscriptions on the Cover.)

1. Arabic.

"These are our works which prove
what we have done;
Look, therefore, at our works
when we are gone."

2. Turkish.

"His genius cast its shadow o'er the world,
And in brief time he much achieved and
wrought:
The Age's Sun was he, and aging suns
Cast lengthy shadows, though their time be
short."

(*Kemál Páshá-záde.*)

3. Persian.

*"When we are dead, seek for our
resting-place
Not in the earth, but in the
hearts of men."*

(*Jalálu 'd-Dín Rúmí.*)

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فَانْظُرْ إِلَىٰ آثَارِ رَحْمَتِ اللَّهِ كَيْفَ يُحْيِي الْأَرْضَ بَعْدَ مَوْتِهَا
تِلْكَ آثَارُنَا تَدُلُّ عَلَيْنَا فَانْظُرُوا بَعْدَنَا إِلَى الْآثَارِ
از زمان ابجد حرف ابد فهم ابدی
سایه‌ی اولیه ابدی عالمیان
شمسی عصر ابدی عصر ره سالک
قلمی محدود اولور زمانی قاصر
بعد از وفات تربت ما در زمین مجو
در سینه‌های مردم عارف مزار ماست